

**The Slum Planners** *Robert B. Semple Jr.*

# THE NEW REPUBLIC

July 22, 1967 35 cents

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

LIBRARY

## No More Nonsense About Ghetto Education!

*Joseph Alsop*

Debt of Thanks — *Stanley Kauffmann*

MacLeish's New Play — *John Wain*

Drug on the Market — *David Sanford*

Vietnam Elections — *Robert S. Browne*

NEWSPAPER NEWS

10450

NR 813  
6019 1 1267  
GUY M BAILEY  
UNIV OF VT  
BURLINGTON VT

# Haverhill's Importorium

GOES TO THE ENDS OF THE EARTH  
TO BRING YOU THE FINEST THINGS. UNUSUAL THINGS. UNEXPECTED.  
INGENIOUS THINGS THAT MONEY CAN'T BUY ALONG MAINSTREET, U.S.A.  
JUST-THAT-THING THINGS. UNNECESSARY, BUT NICE THINGS. VOILA:



## ADD-O-CHECK HAND COUNTER

Want to count your chicks before they are hatched? Keep track of your golf score or count guests at your daughter's wedding? This hand counter is what you've been looking for. Elegantly styled in black hi-impact plastic, with red clicker and white clearing switch. Counts to 9999. With hand strap. **\$5.95**



## COMPEDO PEDOMETER

Know exactly how far you have traveled during the day. This fine German instrument can be set to the length of the user's stride and therefore reads directly any distance up to 25 miles you have walked, and not just the number of steps you have taken. On the back you'll find a good compass, so this makes it really two instruments in one. No excuse now to get lost on your hikes. **\$8.95**



## TEMPERATURE CUFFLINKS

The most unusual cufflinks we have ever seen. Each link is a miniature thermometer of amazing accuracy—one graduated in Centigrade and the other in Fahrenheit. Now, wherever you are in the world and whether you freeze or broil, you can now check right away whether it's all in your mind or truly a case of beastly weather. Gold-plated, with black dials. In luxury red-silk lined snap case. **\$9.95**



## M.V. MINISCOPE SYSTEM

Monocular of outstanding design and performance. Fits in the palm of your hand. More powerful than most standard binoculars and field glasses. Standard objective 8x, 24mm., 8.2°. Extra objective: 6x, 18mm., superwide 11°! Prismatic, fully coated optics—crisp, brilliant and of complete planarity. Objectives may be used as 3x and 5x amplifier/loupes of unexcelled definition and clarity. 3 3/4 ozs., 3 1/2 inches. With zippered case and handstrap. **\$16.95**

**GUARANTEE**—You may return merchandise, for whatever reason within 2 weeks. Guarantee also covers material and workmanship for one year.



## PAPER WELDER

Now staples and paper clips are passe! This helpful desk accessory crimps papers together neatly and crisply with a woven seam—all at the push of a lever. It never runs out or needs a refill. If desired, papers can be separated without tearing. Fun to use, handsome functional design in bright chrome. An essential for the executive, for the club woman, or for the student. Wonderful gift. **\$13.95**

**"They laughed  
when I wound up  
my shaver..."**

That's liable to happen to you when you first use the Riviera in front of anyone. After all, how can a "wind-up" shaver be more than a plaything or at best an emergency type of shaver? But, you will have the last laugh! With one single winding (about six turns, just like a movie camera) you will get a complete shave—the fastest, smoothest and closest you ever had.

Hard to believe, but really true. Free yourself from electricity and paraphernalia and treat yourself to the Riviera. Use it as your "number one" shaver or for office, club or cabin. You will be delighted. A mechanical marvel from Monaco. **\$16.95**

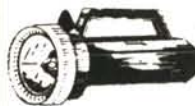


Price  
becomes  
**\$18.95**  
after  
Oct.1



## INTERSCOPE TAPE MEASURE

Whether you want to check how many inches you have taken off your waist, where to hang that picture, or what the inside dimensions of that small box are—this tape measure will do you proud. 78" rule (2 mts.), clearly marked in inches and cms. Clear window provides direct reading of inside measurements. Covered in finest black pigskin and beautifully boxed. A marvelous gift for the gentleman fixer. **\$5.95**



**A FREE GIFT FOR YOU.** If your order (exclusive of postage and sales tax) is for \$30.00 or more, and if check accompanies order, we will send you a Floating Waterproof Lantern with Automatic Warning Blinker. Indispensable for boat operators, fishermen, motorists, etc. Regularly retails for \$4.95.

## WRITE OR PHONE

**HAVERHILL'S, 526 Washington Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94111**  
Telephone (415) 981-5688

Please send me the following:

| Quantity | Item                          | Amount | <input type="checkbox"/> Check enclosed.                           |
|----------|-------------------------------|--------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| _____    | _____                         | _____  | <input type="checkbox"/> Bill Am. Express Acct. # _____            |
| _____    | _____                         | _____  | <input type="checkbox"/> I am entitled to a free Floating Lantern. |
| _____    | _____                         | _____  | NAME: _____                                                        |
| _____    | _____                         | _____  | ADDRESS: _____                                                     |
| _____    | _____                         | _____  | ZIP: _____                                                         |
| _____    | Subtotal \$                   | _____  |                                                                    |
| _____    | Sales tax 4% (Calif. res.) \$ | _____  |                                                                    |
| _____    | Subtotal \$                   | _____  |                                                                    |
| _____    | Postage & Insurance \$ 1.00   | _____  |                                                                    |
| _____    | Total \$                      | _____  |                                                                    |

Searching the World to bring you the finest

**Haverhill's**  
TNR0722



## SERVO-LITE CIGARETTE DISPENSER

At a mile a minute don't take your eyes off the road when you want a smoke or take a chance on lighting the wrong end. Servo-Lite delivers a lighted cigarette at the touch of a button. Holds ten cigarettes so you won't run out between Mulesnot and Oil-leak. Installs in a minute (really!) with just one screw and two wires. No drilling. A real "space age" gadget. **\$16.95**



## TRAVEL IRON

You can make many extra points with your lady if you present her with one of these helpful travel companions. Weighs only 20 ozs. and is just 5" long, but does as good a job as an iron twice its size. Has regulator dial to control fabric temperature. With red warning light. 110V and 220V. A.C., which lets you iron all around the world. In attractive red zipper bag and with extra Continental plug. **\$9.95**

# Why did $\frac{3}{4}$ million record collectors pay \$5 to join Record Club of America...

Compare the "Big 4" Record Clubs and see

when any other record club would have accepted them free?

|                                                           | COLUMBIA Record Club<br>(as advertised in TV GUIDE Feb. 25, 1967) | CAPITOL Record Club<br>(as advertised in TV GUIDE Feb. 11, 1967) | RCA VICTOR Record Club<br>(as advertised in PLAYBOY Mar., 1967) | RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA                                                                                                                        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| CAN YOU CHOOSE FROM ALL LABELS?                           | NO                                                                | NO                                                               | NO                                                              | YES! Choose any LP on any label! No exceptions! Over 300 different manufacturers including CAPITOL, COLUMBIA, RCA VICTOR, ANGEL, LONDON, etc. |
| MUST YOU BUY A "MINIMUM" NUMBER OF RECORDS? HOW MANY?     | 12                                                                | 10                                                               | 4                                                               | NONE! No obligations! No yearly "quota"! Take as many, as few, or no records at all if you so decide!                                         |
| HOW MUCH MUST YOU SPEND TO FULFILL YOUR LEGAL OBLIGATION? | \$47.76 TO \$59.72                                                | \$39.80 TO \$49.80                                               | \$15.92 TO \$19.92                                              | ZERO DOLLARS You don't have to spend a penny—because you're not "legally obligated" to buy even a single record!                              |
| CAN YOU BUY ANY RECORD YOU WANT AT A DISCOUNT?            | NO                                                                | NO                                                               | NO                                                              | ALWAYS! Your discount up to 77% OFF—GUARANTEED never less than a third! No exceptions!                                                        |
| DO YOU EVER RECEIVE UNORDERED RECORDS?                    | YES                                                               | YES                                                              | YES                                                             | NEVER! There are no cards which you must return. Only the records you want are sent—and only when you ask us to send them.                    |
| HOW LONG MUST YOU WAIT FOR SELECTIONS TO ARRIVE?          | 5 to 6 weeks                                                      | 5 to 6 weeks                                                     | 5 to 6 weeks                                                    | NO LONG WAITS! Your order processed same day received.                                                                                        |

## AT LAST A RECORD CLUB WITH NO "OBLIGATIONS"—ONLY BENEFITS!

This is the way YOU want it—a record club with no strings attached! Ordinary record clubs make you choose from just a few labels—usually their own labels! They make you buy up to 10 or more records a year—at full price—to fulfill your "obligation." And if you forget to return their monthly card—they send you a record you don't want and a bill for \$5.00 or \$6.00! In effect, you are charged almost double for your records!

### But Record Club of America Ends All That!

Now choose any LP... on any label. Everything from Bernstein and Baez to Sinatra and the Monkees—including new releases. No exceptions! Take as many, or as few, or no records at all if you so decide. Discounts are NEVER LESS THAN ONE-THIRD, and GUARANTEED AS HIGH AS 77% OFF! You never pay full price—and never pay \$1 extra for stereo! You get best-sellers for as low as 94¢, plus a small handling and mailing charge.

How Can We Break All The Record Club "Rules"? We are the only major record club NOT OWNED... NOT CONTROLLED... NOT "SUBSIDIZED" by any record manufacturer anywhere. (No other major club can make that claim!) Therefore we are never obliged by "company policy" to push any one label, or honor the list price of any manufacturers. Nor are we prevented by distribution commitments, as are other major record clubs, from offering the very newest records. So we can—and do—offer all records and cut prices to the bone! Only Record Club of America offers records as low as 94¢! (You can't expect "conventional" clubs to be interested in keeping record prices down—when they are manipulated by the very manufacturers who want to keep record prices up!)

To join, mail coupon with check or money order for \$5. This entitles you to LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP—and you never pay another club fee!

- Look What You Get
- Lifetime Membership Card guarantees you brand new LPs at dealer cost. Discounts up to 77%!
  - Free 300-Page Schwann Catalog lists all LPs available.
  - Disc®, the Club's FREE magazine, and special Club Sales Announcements which update "Schwann" and list extra discount specials.

### Guaranteed Same-Day Service

The Club's own computer system, located on our premises, processes your order same day received! Every record brand new, factory fresh (never "club pressings" or "seconds")! You must be completely satisfied or every record fully returnable!

### Money Back Guarantee

If you aren't absolutely delighted with our discounts (up to 77%), or our selection (largest in the world!)—or even if you've simply changed your mind—return items within 10 days and membership fee will be refunded AT ONCE!

Over 750,000 music lovers, schools, libraries, and other budget-wise institutions now get brand new LPs for as little as 94¢—through the only major record club not dominated by the record manufacturers! Join now and save. Mail coupon to: Record Club of America, Club Headquarters, York, Pa. 17405.

Your membership entitles you to buy or offer gift memberships to friends, relatives, neighbors for only \$2.50 each with full privileges. You can split the total between you. Your membership and one gift membership divided equally brings cost down to \$3.75 each. The more gift members you get—the more you save! See coupon for your big savings.

12B

© 1967 Record Club of America

DISCOUNTS TO 77%—PRICES AS LOW AS 94¢ PER RECORD!

### TYPICAL ALL LABEL "EXTRA DISCOUNT" SALE

BUDGET SERIES AT ½ PRICE.....\$ .94

Ella Fitzgerald · Frank Sinatra · John Gary · Stan Getz  
Nat Cole · Jack Jones · Ferrante & Teicher  
and more...

BEST SELLERS AT ½ PRICE.....\$1.89

Roger Williams · Johnny Rivers · Bill Cosby  
Ray Charles · Eddy Arnold · The Monkees  
Lawrence Welk and others...

BEST SELLERS AT ½ PRICE.....\$2.39

Dr. Zhivago · Rubinstein · George Szell  
Jimmy Smith · Born Free · Ramsey Lewis  
Van Cliburn · Wes Montgomery and others...

plus... from 50% to as high as 77% discount on famous labels: Roulette, Westminster, Vox, Decca, Atlantic, Monument, and others.

★ Choose any LP on any label! Mono and Stereo! No exceptions!

★ No "quotas" to buy. Take 0 records—or 100!

★ SAVE! Discounts up to 77%! Prices as low as 94¢ per LP!

★ No "hold-back" on exciting new records!

★ All orders processed same day received—no long waits!

★ Every record brand new, first quality, factory fresh—and guaranteed fully returnable!



FREE! 300-page Schwann Catalog to pick your records from when you join Record Club of America

GIANT CATALOG lists all records of all manufacturers. Over 300 labels. More than 25,000 albums. Classical — Popular — Jazz — Folk — Broadway & Hollywood soundtracks — Spoken Word — Rock-N-Roll — Comedy — Rhythm & Blues — Country & Western — Dancing — Listening — Mood! Prices as low as 94¢. No exceptions!



RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA X 951-P  
Club Headquarters • York, Pennsylvania 17405

YES—rush me LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP CARD, FREE 300-page Schwann Catalog, DISC®, and Special Sales Announcements. Enclosed is \$5 membership fee (never another club fee for the rest of my life) which entitles me to buy any LPs at discounts up to 77%, plus a small handling and mailing charge. I am not obligated to buy any records—no yearly "quota." If not completely delighted I may return items above within 10 days for immediate refund of membership fee.

☐ Also send \_\_\_\_\_ Gift Memberships at \$2.50 each to names on attached sheet. Alone I pay \$5; if I join with one friend and split the total, cost is only \$3.75 each; with two friends, \$3.33 each; with three friends, \$3.13 each; with four friends only \$3 each.

I ENCLOSE TOTAL OF \$\_\_\_\_\_ covering one \$5 Lifetime Membership plus any Gift Memberships at \$2.50 each.

Print Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_



# A PROPOSITION

**A** wild new thing is about to happen: the mad, mod scene is about to witness the birth of a fantastic new magazine destined for greatness. Its name is **Avant-Garde**.

As its name implies, **Avant-Garde** will be a forward-directed, daring, and wildly hedonistic magazine. It will report on every aspect of the ebullient new life-style now emerging in America, and it will do so with no put-ons and no inhibitions.

The pages of **Avant-Garde** will explode with biting satire, incisive profiles, audacious reportage, lush graphic art, consciousness-expanding fiction, and poetry that *speaks*. **Avant-Garde** will cover Art, Politics, Science, and every other subject of interest to readers of superior intelligence and cultivated taste. It will be a bimonthly of:

- beauty*, bringing to graphic art a transcendental new kind of high;
- truth*, eschewing platitudes and really telling it like it is; and
- love*, unabashedly reveling in the One Universal Ultimate Good.

In short, **Avant-Garde** will be a hip, joyous, beautiful new magazine. It will be the *voice* of the Turned-On Generation.

Perhaps the best way to describe **Avant-Garde** for you is to list the kinds of articles it will print:

**The Dead-Serious Movement to Run Allen Ginsberg for Congress**

**Homage to Muhammad Ali**—35 Celebrities (including Marlon Brando, Jackie Robinson, and Woody Allen) in praise of Cassius Clay.

**Coming: Synthetic (and Therefore Legal) Marijuana**

**Radio Free America**—A professor's plan (already in motion) to establish a pirate radio station off the coast of California.

**The "Bust" of Charlotte Moorman**—The gifted young cellist describes her arrest for giving a concert hall recital "topless."

**The CIA's Super-Salaried "Super-Spook"**—An exposé of an operative who is paid \$1 million a year to fink for Big Brother.

**The Intellectual Companions of Jacqueline Kennedy**

**Bob Dylan's Suppressed—and Pithiest—Song Lyrics**

**Salvador Dali: A New Dimension in Erotic Art**—Drawings created especially to celebrate the launching of *Avant-Garde*.

**George Romney's Bizarre Religious Beliefs Toward the Elimination of War**—A little-known exchange of correspondence between Einstein and Freud.

**Understanding Zowie**—A glossary of Switched-On Generation jargon.

**The Fugs**—New York's most way-out electronic raga-rock nerve-thrill company.

**A Gastronomical Guide to the Year 2000**

**The Writing on the Wall**—The emergence of graffiti as a medium of social protest.

**Move Over, Lady Chatterley**—A preview of several erotic classics soon to be published in this country for the first time.

**The Prison Poems of Ho Chi Minh**

**Mixed-Media Art: The Pop World's Newest "Scrambled Oeuvre"**

**My Love for You Is Stronger than Dirt**—The Madison Avenue dating scene as observed by Dan ("How to Be a Jewish Mother") Greenburg.

**Poets at War**—Bitter anti-war verse by GI's in Vietnam.

**John Lennon as a Master of Prose**

**Ingenious—and Perfectly Legal—New Ways Around Abortion Laws**

**Everett Dirksen as "The Wizard of Ooze"**—A Pop Impression.

**The Emergence of Abstract Expressionist Journalism**—As exemplified by the L.A. Free Press, N.Y. East Village Other, and Berkeley Barb.

**Group Psychotherapy on TV**

**Aubrey Beardsley's Suppressed Erotic Works**—A portfolio.

**A Geneticist's Plea for State-Sponsored Breeding of Supermen**

**Pornographic Film Festivals at Lincoln Center by 1970**—Predictions by an underground film-maker.

In sum, *Avant-Garde* will be a feast of gourmet food-for-

thought prepared by the avant-garde for the avant-garde. It will be the quintessence of intellectual sophistication.

The creative director of *Avant-Garde* is one of the most fertile minds in American publishing today: Herb Lubalin, the country's foremost art director (it was he who designed the elegant—and cruelly suppressed—quarterly *Eros*). In addition, the staff of *Avant-Garde* includes several of the most gifted artists, writers, and photographers of our time.

In format, *Avant-Garde* will more closely resemble an expensive art folio than a magazine. It will be printed by costly offset lithography on the finest antique and coated papers. It will be bound in 12-point Frankote boards. It will carry *no advertising whatsoever*.

*Avant-Garde* will be available by subscription only. It will cost \$10 per year. This is not inexpensive, *but* we have a proposition:

If you will enter your subscription *right now*—before *Avant-Garde's* first issue is sold out—we will send you a whole year for *only \$5*. This is *half price!*

As a Charter Subscriber, you will also be entitled to:

—Buy gift subscriptions for only \$5.

—Renew your own subscription for \$5 *forever*, despite any subsequent price increases.

—Begin your own subscription with Volume I, Number 1. *This is not to be taken lightly since first issues of high-quality magazines invariably become valuable collectors' items.*

Since this spectacular offer will be withdrawn as soon as *Avant-Garde's* first issue is sold out, we urge you to act *at once*. To enter your subscription, simply fill out the coupon below and mail it with \$5 to *Avant-Garde*, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Then sit back and prepare to enjoy a completely uninhibited new magazine that really blows the mind.

# AVANT GARDE

*Avant-Garde*, Suite 303E, 200 Park Ave., New York 10017

I enclose \$5 for a one-year subscription to the magnificent new magazine *Avant-Garde*. I understand that I will be entitled to all Charter Subscriber privileges and that *I am paying only half price!*

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

© AVANT-GARDE 1967 nra-1

# T.R.B.

from  
*Washington*

## *Paying for Politics*

★ There's a slight chance, at last, that Congress may nerve itself for the long overdue task of reforming campaign finance practices. As things are and long have been, office-seekers scavenge for contributions and accept handouts from men with special axes to grind. This has ruined more politicians than anything else we know.

Now comes the promise of public subsidies—either direct, through Treasury payments to the two parties, or indirect, through tax deductions and credits for small contributions to candidates. Congress is nibbling; it may bite. The price of the subsidy, as the Senate made known in supporting the fight of Albert Gore and John J. Williams against the ill-conceived Russell Long bill, must be full disclosure of the private sources of campaign cash.

A Senate subcommittee has started to put together a "clean elections" bill based on President Johnson's recommendations; similar legislation passed the Senate before, then expired in committee in the House. So we're encouraged by the early action in this session of the House subcommittee that cleared a reform bill. In some respects, it's superior to the President's. It has bipartisan sponsorship: Robert T. Ashmore, a South Carolina Democrat, and Charles E. Goodell, a New York Republican. Both the Ashmore-Goodell bill and the President's would lift the arbitrary ceilings on expenditures by campaign committees and candidates. Of course they've made no sense and are regularly evaded by the simple device of setting up multiple committees.

Both would give the public a full

view of what it costs to run for office, and where the money comes from. Complete financial statements of primary elections costs (not now covered) would be required. Political committees that function in only one state (also exempt from the current law) would have to file reports.

We like the idea of putting enforcement of the law in the hands of a bipartisan federal elections commission (as the Ashmore-Goodell bill provides), instead of leaving it to functionaries of the House and Senate. There are too many reasons why these functionaries may not look critically at the adequacy or the accuracy of the reports their employers, the representatives and senators, file with them. The Ashmore-Goodell bill would also require candidates and members of Congress to make public all gifts and honorariums of more than \$100, a practice which Paul Douglas labored long and unsuccessfully to make general. Both House and Senate bills are well-launched, in time to cover the 1968 campaigns. But we're keeping our fingers crossed; the history of election reform legislation is that it falters as it nears final passage. Public pressure is needed—or another Dodd case to keep the pot boiling.

## *Boxer Reagan of California*

★ Yes, there is a Ronald Reagan. He is in the Republican presidential race, whatever he may be saying, and more will be heard of him in the coming months. Back home in California, as Andrew Kopkind reported in the last issue of this magazine and as Democrats in the legislature, regents of the university and Clark Kerr have learned to their sorrow, Reagan has proved himself no mere charm boy but a tough political in-fighter. He has won his way on most of the key state issues and has increased his popularity, despite a whopping tax increase necessary to balance his record \$5 billion budget.

Now he and his backers have set their sights on 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Reagan has a traveling national political agent, his former appointments secretary Tom Reed. He can have F. Clifton White, the fellow who engineered Barry Goldwater's nomi-

nation, working for him any day that he gives the signal.

His own big money backers, including the far right multimillionaires like Henry Salvatori, Holmes Tuttle and Walter Knott, are even willing to forego their long-standing desire to beat liberal Republican Senator Tom Kuchel in the primary next year—if it will help Reagan get to the White House. Superintendent of Public Instruction Max Rafferty, who would love to run against Kuchel, is complaining that the Reagan backers have shut their wallets to him so they can invest everything in the presidential race.

Reagan will step up his out-of-state speaking once the legislature gets its work done. He's booked for Oregon, Illinois, Wisconsin and South Carolina in September, has an even more extensive schedule developing for October. Assured of California's 86 votes as a favorite son, he will also be on the ballot in presidential primaries in Nebraska and Oregon next May, probably also in Wisconsin in April. He won't have to win a majority in any of them; just capturing a larger fraction of the vote than Nixon, Romney and Percy would vault him to the top of the pile.

Poor Richard—after all he did for Goldwater. Reagan gives conservatives another horse than Nixon to ride. But don't be fooled. Reagan's appeal is not limited to the kooks.

Oregon's Tom McCall, about as liberal as Republican governors come, calls Reagan "the hottest political property in the country," speculates that he might prove to be "another Ike." The liberal Republicans are floundering again.

★ Notes: Senator Metcalf (D, Mont.) says private utilities are overcharging the public more than \$600 million a year for electricity. . . . Romney is described here as a "dynamic bore." . . . Florida's Congressman Cramer is pushing his riot-control bill; it won't "interfere with civil rights," he says, but he hopes "it will put Stokely Carmichael in jail." . . . The Israelis talk about turning over control of Jerusalem's holy places to religious groups; fine with us, so long as they don't let the city again become the Middle East Berlin.

**THE NEW REPUBLIC** *A Journal of Opinion* Volume 157 Numbers 4-5 Issues 2747-8 July 22-29, 1967  
Published weekly (except the last week in July, the second and fourth weeks in August and the last week in December)  
and distributed by The New Republic, 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy  
35c. Yearly subscription, \$9; Foreign \$10; Armed Forces personnel or students, \$6. Send all remittances and correspond-  
ence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department, The New Republic, 381  
West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright© 1967 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class  
Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.

## CONTENTS

### COMMENT 5-7

Some Pay, Some Don't; The  
Congo and the Senate

Candidates on Television - Peter Barnes 7  
The Slum Planners

- Robert B. Semple Jr. 9

Terms of the New Treaty for the Panama  
Canal - Harvey Rosenhouse 10

Elections in Vietnam - Robert S. Browne 11

Drug on the Market

- David Sanford 13

It's Neat in Greece

- Robert F. McDonald 15

The Latin Americans Teach the Greeks

- Nathan Miller 17

No More Nonsense About Ghetto Education!

- Joseph Alsop 18

Debt of Thanks - Stanley Kauffmann 24

BOOKS - Reviews by John Wain, Alex  
Campbell, Ralph Nader, Honor Tracy 25

ART by Frank Getlein 35

A COMMUNICATION by Max Gordon 36

CORRESPONDENCE 37

### THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief - Gilbert A. Harrison

Managing Editor - Alex Campbell

Books and Arts Editor - Robert Evett

Associate Literary Editor - Stanley Kauffmann

Associate Editors - James Ridgeway,

David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone

Assistant to the Editors - F. R. Ruskin

Copy Editor - Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel,  
Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Helen Fuller,  
Frank Getlein, Frederick Gutheim, Irving Howe,  
Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson,  
Pauline Kael, Andrew Kopkind

Publisher - Garth Hite

Circulation Manager - Bertha Lehman

Business Manager - Glenon Matthiesen

New York Advertising Representative -  
E. Laurence White Jr., Good-Laidley-White  
50 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

## Some Pay, Some Don't

The Treasury Department holds hearings this week on proposed new regulations dealing with unrelated business income earned by tax-exempt organizations. Written in 1906, the basic federal statute governing the activities of these organizations was last reviewed comprehensively in 1926. Since then, the "free-loaders" have multiplied and diversified, and the Internal Revenue Service has had neither the funds nor personnel to check on whether they are doing what they're supposed to be doing. Until 1961, the IRS audited reports of only 2,000 tax-exempt groups; now it examines a 14,000 sample - out of approximately 500,000.

There are discrepancies and inconsistencies all about. For instance, the former Commissioner of the IRS, Mortimer Caplin, calls attention to the Educational Testing Service, which was granted an exemption from federal income taxes in 1947 "because its primary purpose at that time was to carry on certain specialized and non-competitive testing programs previously carried on by three non-profit organizations." But ETS has since "expanded its activities far beyond its original exempt purpose," Mr. Caplin points out, "and is now realizing substantial amounts of unrelated business income from the sale of goods and services." Or take the American Medical Association which has advertising income exceeding \$10 million a year - all of it tax-exempt. Exempt organizations publish about 700 magazines and periodicals, earning over \$110 million a year from the sale of advertising. Many of them have the same readers and editorial content as have non-tax-exempt publications. *Nation's Business* and *National Geographic* are tax-exempt; *Business Week* and *Holiday* are not. *The New Leader* is supported by a tax-exempt foundation (to which donations are tax-exempt), but not *The New Republic* or *The National Review*.

Then there's the peculiar case of the American Farm Bureau, which so interests Congressman Joseph Resnick (D, N.Y.). Mr. Resnick charges that this influential tax-exempt organization is a "fraud"; for, he says, there is at least grave doubt whether its present operations are related to the purposes which allow it to be tax-exempt - serving the interests of those "engaged in carrying on a farm or farms" or those who have "a major agricultural interest." He was amazed to learn, the congressman said last week, that although there are only 1,100 farms in Cook County, Illinois, there are 7,000 Farm Bureau members; the implication is that many of these members are

not farmers but insurance buyers who have to join to get the insurance.

Mr. Resnick calls the Farm Bureau "nothing more than a gigantic insurance complex." He cites the example of the American Agricultural Mutual Insurance Company "with assets of \$11 million [which] is wholly owned by the American Farm Bureau Federation." (The president of the insurance company is also president of the Farm Bureau.) Through its 28 affiliated companies, with assets totaling \$250 million, the Farm Bureau, Mr. Resnick says, "is the 35th largest fire and casualty insurer in the United States." But it pays no taxes on its earnings. There is a suspicion, moreover, according to the congressman, that some of the profits earned by the Farm Bureau's insurance business, shopping centers and chain of service stations go into lobbying (on which it spent \$133,944 in 1966).

When a tax-exempt organization engages in commercial enterprises, more often than not it is at some sacrifice to the "official" purposes of the organization. Mr. Caplin believes that "time spent looking after the business operations is time that is not being spent pursuing the charitable goals for which exemption was granted. Because of this, the real reason for the organization's existence is often relegated to a secondary position by the pressures and demands of the commercial activities."

Whether the American Farm Bureau's principal concern is the welfare of farmers – and especially the smaller farmers – has often been asked; for again and again the Bureau has been the defender of legislation and legislators indifferent to or even opposed to the average farmer. Mr. Resnick makes this point, and obviously he thinks he has got hold of a real scandal. He has asked the Internal Revenue Service to re-examine the Bureau's tax-exempt status. The Farm Bureau, however, would feel safer with an investigation conducted by the House Agriculture Committee, quite a few of whose members belong to the Farm Bureau. The committee showed how it stood last week, when, by a vote of 27 to one it rebuked Mr. Resnick for his attacks on their old friend.

The Treasury Department hearing this week on unrelated business activity of tax-exempt organizations is a small step forward. But a far broader inquiry – one that would cover the operations of such groups as the Farm Bureau – is called for. There have been enormous changes in this country since 1926. The number of tax-exempt groups which have sprung up since, with their great resources and varied activities, require a comprehensive and objective new look. The tax-exempt principle has enabled great services to be performed by private wealth. Those contributions should not be compromised by continued federal tolerance of the abuses of that principle.

## The Congo and the Senate

Moise Tshombe, former prime minister of the Congo, a country as big as the United States east of the Mississippi, was kidnapped high above the Mediterranean by a French ex-convict who coveted the Congolese government's \$25,000 reward for him. Tshombe, Congolese President Mobutu told the United Nations, had been plotting a military takeover with the help of Spaniards, Belgians, Portuguese and South Africans. In the Congo, white mercenary and black rebel Katangese troops moved to topple Mobutu's regime. Then the US provided Mobutu with three USAF transport planes (154 aboard – paratroopers, crews, and maintenance, communications and headquarters personnel) to fly Congolese soldiers to the eastern Congo to fight the rebels. At that news, the fur began to fly in the US Senate.

Tshombe's kidnapper, Francis Bodenan, took his prisoner to Algeria, the nearest sympathetic country in fuel range of the hijacked plane. Since Tshombe was traveling with Spanish bodyguards, Spain protested this "act of piracy." (Algeria was negotiating at that moment with Madrid to sell Spain Sahara natural gas, which the Arab boycott forbids Algerian President Boumedienne from continuing to sell to London.) Tshombe's Spanish bodyguards were promptly released. But the Algerians held prisoner Tshombe's three Belgian aides, and two British pilots, presumably as a gesture aimed at British policy in Aden – and at the UN. (Mobutu, whom Israel once trained as a paratrooper, switched his UN vote to the Arab side to help persuade Algeria to hand over Tshombe for execution.)

Mobutu had rescued Tshombe from prison in Coquilhatville in 1961, but now Tshombe has financial backing from Africa's "white South," which hoped to use him to turn the vast Congo into a buffer against nationalist Africa. That was too much for Mobutu who is trying hard to look nationalist – virtually canonizing the dead nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba (whom he threw in jail in September 1960). Presumably, Mobutu would now like to hang Tshombe as an hors d'oeuvre to serve the September meeting in Kinshasa of the Organization of African States.

The reaction to all this in the US Senate was remarkable – though not necessarily wrongheaded. It showed how Senators who solemnly consent to pouring away thousands of American lives and billions of dollars in Vietnam, can become outraged over the most token of token interventions elsewhere. The dispatch of the three planes set off Senator Russell of Georgia. He could not understand "our apparently irrepressible desire to rush into some of these situations. . . ." There are, he said, "very bitter feelings between some of these tribes, and it is highly likely that within the next few decades there will be a large number of tribal

wars between these new African countries." If we intervened in all such situations, "just how long can we expect them [the Soviet Union and Red China] to refrain from stirring up internal troubles to bring us into these countries over the world. . . ." Mr. Stennis of Mississippi warned that "if we have not already learned a lesson by going it alone and getting unnecessarily involved on the other side of the world, we never will learn it." Mr. Young of North Dakota pointed out that "this policy seems to be a continuation of the policy that was initiated following World War II, at which time the experts in the Pentagon and the State Department determined that we were going to police the whole world. At that time, it did not seem to be too bad an undertaking. We had some allies. However, today, we do not have a single ally remaining. They have all deserted us in this undertaking." And Mr. Byrd of West Virginia wound up by remarking that the US has no business interfering "in an internal military fracas which apparently resulted from insurrection in the ranks of its national armed forces." Why, "the situation in the Congo could possibly become another Vietnam . . . the United States must not assume the role of fire brigade, military style, for the nations of the world."

Well, well. We await the next pronouncement of all these Senators on the escalation of US forces in Vietnam, as well as their comment on the \$37 billion of arms this government has given away in the past 17 years – and the arms sales by the Pentagon to foreign countries, now running nearly \$2 billion a year.

## Candidates on Television

An inquiry by the Senate Commerce Committee into politicking on TV opens this week. The story is not new – only gaudier than ever. In 1964, the broadcasters billed candidates at all levels for the staggering sum of \$34.6 million (\$32 million in the off-year 1966), and next year will shatter all previous records.

President Johnson has sent Congress a high sounding proposal to finance and clean up elections. The financing provisions are limited to post-convention presidential campaign costs and to what Mr. Johnson calls the expenses needed "to bring the issues to the public." That means TV, radio, billboards, handout literature and travel – about 65 percent of total campaign spending. The lion's share of this goes to TV, and since the President envisions underwriting these expenses with direct appropriations from the Treasury, his scheme amounts to a subsidy for the thriving TV industry.

The problem of soaring campaign costs can be approached from two sides: providing untainted money through appropriations, tax incentives or other meth-

ods; and cutting costs of campaigning so that the publicly supplied money does not become a windfall for businessmen licensed to perform a public service. By and large, the TV people do not quarrel with these general aims. Though TV income from politics has climbed astronomically, it is still a drop in a multi-billion dollar bucket. For many individual stations, political earnings are barely worth the bother involved in the detailed logging the FCC requires of all requests for political time and their subsequent handling and disposal. Most political business comes in the fall, when new programs are just getting started and commercial advertisers are hungry for all available air time. If a noncompulsory way could be found to provide free TV time to candidates without disrupting a station's regular activities, TV people would probably accept it.

There is no getting around the fact that television has become a kingmaker. A candidate who is covered on the six o'clock news will be vividly projected into hundreds of thousands of living rooms. Compared to a captive audience of half a million tube-watchers, the few hundred workers greeted at a freezing plant gate at 5 a.m., or the thousand teachers addressed at an educational convention, are little more than concessions to a candidate's restlessness.

But since no candidate can count on a flattering portrayal in the news broadcasts every night, the next best thing is to advertise. In a statewide campaign today, TV and radio costs can amount to a third of a candidate's expenses. Rates vary, but a prime time 20-second spot over a major TV channel in a metropolitan area of two million persons is likely to cost over \$500; on New York City channels it tops \$2,000. A hundred spots over several channels in several cities in the weeks before an election and the candidate can quickly be \$50,000 in the hole. Senator Joseph Clark (D, Pa.) who faces possibly primary as well as Republican opposition next year, anticipates that TV will cost him over \$500,000 in 1968.

Among the proposals the Commerce Committee will consider are a bill by Senator James Pearson (R, Kan.) to suspend Section 315 of the Communications Act (the "equal time" provision) for presidential campaigns; a bill by Senator John Pastore (D, R.I.) to suspend Section 315 for presidential, congressional and gubernatorial campaigns; a bill by Sen. Hugh Scott (R, Pa.) to substitute an "equitable time" rule for the "equal time" rule in presidential, congressional and gubernatorial elections; and a bill by Senator Clark to require TV stations to allocate free time to political candidates on an "equitable" basis as a condition for FCC licensing.

For obvious reasons, either of the first two is strongly preferred by the television industry. There has been no shortage of network pledges about how generous

they would be to major party presidential, and even lower level candidates, if only they were not required to give equal time to vegetarians and socialists. In 1960, they lived up to their promises for Kennedy and Nixon, after Congress temporarily suspended Section 315 for presidential nominees, and they would undoubtedly do so again for the major parties. Though there would be no guarantees, they might also be persuaded to grant reasonable time in 1968 to George Wallace, or a major peace candidate.

But suspending Section 315 for elections below the presidential level has its dangers. There are many who suspect that TV station owners are as conservative a species as most newspaper publishers, and that liberal and Negro candidates, particularly in Southern primary elections, would get short shrift without Section 315.

Senator Clark's preemptive approach offers more for senatorial and gubernatorial elections, though it is questionable how far down it could be extended (how much time should New York City stations be required to give to candidates for school board in Hicksville, Long Island—or candidates for Congress in Newark, N.J.?). In Britain, the BBC as well as the commercial network are required to provide equal amounts of free time in national elections to the two major parties, and lesser amounts to smaller parties based upon their vote in the previous election. A similar procedure could be adopted for statewide general elections in the US (stations might be required to allocate to candidates 10 minutes out of their usual 6-7 p.m. nightly news shows, for example), with time distributed to parties in proportion to their votes at the last election. It would be much more difficult to establish an equitable formula for wide-open primary contests.

Or, instead of giving politicians federal money to spend on TV, Congress could provide "public service credits" for candidates, which TV stations would be required to honor. There could be credits for five and fifteen minute appearances as well as for the more popular 20- and 60-second spots.

The need for reform is great, the difficulties are not insurmountable, and yet the prospect of getting any of these proposals put into law is not bright. Clark's measure is backed by Senators Albert Gore (D, Tenn.) and Robert Kennedy (D, N.Y.) but it's much too coercive for an industry which is immensely powerful on Capitol Hill. No congressman wants to get on the wrong side of his local TV station owner, who may often own the major local newspaper as well. Another obstacle is President Johnson's desire to keep TV out of the picture for a while. Suspending Section 315 would amplify demands that Johnson debate Ronald Reagan, George Romney, or whoever, and the President clearly wants to avoid that.

PETER BARNES

## The Slum Planners

Three urban plans have commanded headlines and awakened broad interest: Sen. Charles H. Percy's novel proposal to provide homeownership for the poor; and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's two companion schemes for providing better housing and more jobs in the ghetto, introduced in Congress last week.

To risk an oversimplification, what Mr. Percy and Mr. Kennedy are trying to do, without explicitly acknowledging it, is extend to the slum investor, hence the slum dweller, credit arrangements even more generous than those which fueled the postwar boom in suburban housing. There are important differences, of course, but the name of the game is the same: Unleash the private sector. "We must create a new partnership," Mr. Percy intones, "with government providing reinforcement and guarantee, not execution and control." Echoes Mr. Kennedy (in a statement that may reassure businessmen worried by his flirtations with the New Left): "To ignore the potential contribution of private enterprise is to fight the war on poverty with a single platoon . . . in a significant sense, private enterprise is the very sinew and strength of America." Beyond this, the Kennedy and Percy housing plans are quite different, especially in the mechanisms they employ, so the question may legitimately be asked: If private capital is indeed the key to slum rebuilding, which plan offers the stronger hope? There are several grounds for comparison, among them administrative feasibility, relevance to the peculiar physical and human conditions of the city, and prospects for approval.

Administratively, the Percy plan is more cumbersome. It asks Congress to set up a new semi-public bureaucracy called the National Home Ownership Foundation, which would be capitalized by selling up to \$2 billion federally guaranteed debentures bearing market rates of interest. The proceeds would then be channeled to local nonprofit housing corporations, which would build or renovate slum houses and sell them to the poor who would take out long-term (30-year), low-interest (2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>-3 percent) mortgages. The difference between the low interest rate paid to the foundation by the homeowner and the market interest rate that the foundation must pay investors (around 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> percent) would be made up by the Treasury.

The difficulty here, quite apart from uneasy prospect of a new bureaucracy, lies in the role of the local nonprofit foundations: the spin-offs that will actually do the rehabilitation, make the sale to the prospective homeowner, give him tips on budget and home management, and otherwise oversee grass-roots operation of the program. Unfortunately, the history of such nonprofit groups is not encouraging; local voluntarism

— even if enough existed — is no substitute for expertise, and citizen experts in the complex housing field are hard to find. One of the major obstacles to rapid growth of the government's widely admired 221-d-3 program, under which nonprofit and limited-dividend groups undertake housing for low and moderate income families, has been the difficulty in finding competent nonprofit sponsors.

Mr. Kennedy's plan dispenses with all such paraphernalia in favor of a direct relationship with business and industry. The bill aims to convince builders and other businessmen to make investments in the slums they would normally shun by using, like Mr. Percy, low-interest mortgage loans (2 percent over 50 years) that would be translated into lower rents for the tenants; and, in addition, tax incentives, which would provide an attractive return on investment.

The most important of these would be a "tax credit" — ranging from 3 percent to 22 percent (depending on the amount of money the investor himself was willing to put into the project) of the total cost of the project. Thus, an investor who builds a \$1 million project, and puts up the minimum 20 percent equity required under the plan, would receive a 3 percent credit, or \$30,000. The tax credit, plus accelerated depreciation and several other inducements, promises the investor, according to Mr. Kennedy, a 13 to 15 percent return on investment, better than most returns and double the 6 or 6½ percent a buyer of one of Mr. Percy's debentures would receive.

Mr. Percy's bondholders would not, of course, have to go into the slum rehabilitation business, as Mr. Kennedy's investors would, to get their money: They need only buy bonds, and let the local nonprofit groups do the work. But while the Percy plan may have wide appeal to individual investors and pension funds who are content with 6 percent, a man choosing between the two plans on grounds of clout alone would have to put his money on all those big businesses with ready cash who see in Kennedy's plan some tax advantages.

But what about the poor? Here one can make a flat judgment: neither plan will help the poor — that is, the rock-bottom 32 million with incomes below \$3,200, of whom 17.5 million live in standard metropolitan statistical areas, including 10.6 million in the central cities.

Mr. Percy's plan, for example, cannot be used by households in the lowest brackets because it relies solely on a below-market-interest subsidy. Even a 2¼ percent, 30-year loan of \$12,500 (the maximum allowable under the bill) would cost the homeowner about \$50 monthly in interest and principal — to which one would have to add another \$50 or so in taxes, insurance and normal maintenance. Under the standard rule of thumb that most households should not pay

more than 25 percent of monthly income for rent, this would assume a monthly income of \$400 — or \$4,800 a year.

The Kennedy measure suffers from similar deficiencies. Under the Kennedy plan, 2 percent, 50-year mortgages to the builder would translate into slightly lower rents for the tenant (about \$86 per month for tenants in a comparable \$12,500 unit) but would still assume an annual income of \$4,128.

The point is that both plans aim slightly higher at, as Mr. Kennedy puts it, "the four million families with incomes ranging from \$3,500 to \$6,000 that desperately need new or rehabilitated housing." And that isn't such a small chunk after all. These four million families make up about half of those living in housing that is substandard by official census definition.

Moreover, neither man is shrinking from the magnitude of the problem. The total amount of subsidized loans possible under the Percy bill would be \$2 billion, which would finance 200,000 units averaging \$10,000. His would amount to 2.5 percent of the total number of substandard units in the country and 5.4 percent of the 3.6 million (by the 1960 census) substandard units in central cities. But it would be rather large in relation to outgoing programs, and, in any case, could probably be broadened in future years if found successful. Mr. Kennedy's ideas are equally generous. His bill would authorize \$3 billion in Treasury borrowing to supplement a minimum investors' equity of \$600 million and build over 300,000 units. This, too, is presumably capable of expansion, particularly if investors' equity is high. This would reduce strain on the loan fund and make possible further loans.

The question still remains, however, of who has the right approach to those four million families. To the extent that they are by nature renters rather than homeowners, and would probably place homeownership rather low on their scale of values if interviewed on the corner of 125th Street and Lenox Ave. by Lou Harris, Mr. Kennedy appears to have the edge.

Moreover, even in the lower-middle-income range, jobs are uncertain and income fluctuates quickly. People move in and out of poverty, and if too many with mortgages move "in," Mr. Percy will find himself with a good many defaults on his hands. Mr. Kennedy has apparently anticipated the problem of providing his renters not only with livable units but also with stable jobs so they can continue to live in them. The day before he introduced his housing bill, he offered, as a companion proposal, his job-creation bill, which offers healthy incentives to business to build plants in the slums. It is perhaps unfair to criticize Mr. Percy for not offering a job-creation bill, but in the areas he's talking about money is hard to come by.

Both bills have a healthy number of co-sponsors

(the tax incentive features of the Kennedy plans have attracted a dozen or so Republicans), but the political atmosphere, especially in the House, where Mr. Kennedy's plan must originate because of its revenue features, is not terribly congenial.

It is here that Mr. Percy's plan, apart from the glamor of the words "home ownership," has its sole major advantage. He has already neutralized—or at least appeared to neutralize—opposition from the Treasury. He had once planned to subsidize the low-interest rates by selling tax-exempt bonds, which would be translated into lower carrying charges for the homeowner, but the Treasury and local officials balked. He then switched to the straight subsidy plan.

Mr. Kennedy, however, relies not only on subsidized interest rates but on elaborate tax credits, and this could cause him trouble. His aides insist that for 300,000 units the cost to the Treasury will be no more than \$50 million annually, \$35 million for the mortgage subsidy and \$15 million for the tax credits, over the 50 year life of the mortgages, for a 50-year total of \$2.5 billion at the outside. (Comparative figures for the Percy plan are hard to come by, but he has asked for \$10 million the first year, \$20 million more the second, and \$30 million more the third, and over 50 years the total could conceivably reach \$3 billion at an average annual level of \$60 million). These are small bites out of the tax base but—despite Mr. Kennedy's insistence that the tax system should be used for social purposes, and that much of the tax loss will be recaptured through new business and incomes—Treasury nowadays claims to be steadfastly opposed to erosion of the base for any purpose.

Then, too, many congressmen may simply wait to see what President Johnson will do in this field before deciding on one plan or the other. He has a secret task force working on the problem of employing the hard-core slum jobless, as well as a highly visible task force headed by industrialist Edgar Kaiser working on the problem of luring business into the field of slum rehabilitation. It must be unsettling to see Mr. Kennedy zoom forth with carefully worked-out plans in both areas.

ROBERT B. SEMPLE JR.

## Terms of the New Treaty For the Panama Canal

After three years of absurdly protracted negotiations in Washington and New York, the United States and Panama announced simultaneously on June 26 that they had agreed on the "form and content" of new treaties governing the Panama Canal, a defense pact to protect it, and a possible sea level canal in the future.

Details of the drafts are being withheld for the moment—on Panama's request—until President Marco A. Robles and Foreign Minister Fernando Elea, who took part in the final phase of the negotiations, persuade other important political figures, including the country's ex-presidents, to support the three new treaties, which must later be signed by the two governments and ratified by the Panamanian *Asamblea Nacional* and the US Senate.

In Panama, street mobs led by communists and "nacionalistas" have demanded that the government immediately reveal the provisions of the treaties, charging that failure to publish the texts is proof of a sellout to the US. In Washington, Senator Mansfield hailed the agreement and said it "may prove to be one of the outstanding accomplishments of the Johnson Administration." Senate ratification seems assured.

To Panamanians, emotions over the Panama Canal still run high. The "Big Stick" diplomacy that produced the 1903 treaty, giving the US the 10-mile-wide Canal Zone in "perpetuity" with all the rights as "if it were sovereign of the territory," is an enduring example of Yankee imperialism. In January 1964, resentment exploded into wild anti-US riots that spilled over into the Canal Zone, whose American police fired at Panamanian mobs, killing 20. Panama severed diplomatic relations with Washington and refused to renew them until President Johnson agreed to renegotiate the treaty.

Panama had five main complaints: (1) the "perpetuity" clause; (2) its exclusion from a voice in running the Canal; (3) the smallness of the annuity; (4) the lack of effective Panamanian sovereignty in the Canal Zone; and (5) the "unfair" commercial competition that US government commissaries in the Zone represent to Panamanian private enterprise.

The new treaties will go a long way toward removing the major Panamanian grievances. Although the texts are officially under wraps, congressional sources acquainted with them, as well as Washington diplomats who are in a position to know, outline the new agreements as follows:

► The Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone will be abolished. The former will be replaced by a dual authority called the "Joint Administration of the Panama Canal." It will be run by nine directors, five appointed by the US, four by Panama. The chairmanship of the new authority will be held alternately by each country. The Canal Zone is to be known henceforth as the "Canal Area," and it will be greatly reduced in size to include only vital installations, residential and business districts.

► Panama will exercise "effective," but less than total, sovereignty in the new "Canal Area." The US-dominated "Joint Administration" will control a mixed police force of Panamanians and Americans that will

keep order in the Canal Area. The same agency will run schools for US citizens in the CA, but schools for Panamanians there may be absorbed in the republic's education system. Administration of justice under the new rules is not simple. US transgressors will be tried by US courts in the Canal Area; all others by Panamanians. (At present the judicial system in the Canal Zone is exclusively American.) No one is spelling out how legal cases involving both US citizens and Panamanians are to be handled. For the first time, all residents of the CA, including US citizens, will pay taxes to Panama. Panamanian fiscal sovereignty apparently will be complete.

► Panama now receives an annuity of \$1,935,000. That annuity will be abolished. Panama will get a fixed fee per ton of canal traffic, plus an even split in the profits of the canal operation. These, in addition to other benefits, will at the end of a five-year transition period, give the country an income of \$40 million a year directly from the Canal, according to Panamanian sources. In the first year, Panama will receive from \$28 million to \$30 million, it is claimed. This is in addition to the estimated \$30 million annually in indirect income Panama now derives from the Canal.

► The commissaries and other businesses the US operates in the Canal Zone will, within five years after treaty ratification, be sold to private interests.

► The new Canal authority will have the right to change the toll basis which has remained constant for 50 years. (Panama wants to raise it.)

► Duration of the treaty is 40 years, or "until a new sea level canal is built." This represents a compromise between 30 years suggested by Panama, and 50 years US negotiators wanted.

► The draft treaty for the defense of the Canal, which also runs for 40 years, confirms the US right to maintain its present military bases in Panama, and provides for at least token *Guardia Nacional* participation in Canal defense.

► The sea level canal treaty is relatively simple. Panama makes no territorial concessions and will retain full sovereignty in the area of such a canal, if and when it is built.

All things considered, the new agreement appears to be a vast improvement over the Hay-Bunau Varilla instrument it will replace. In the words of one of the Panamanian negotiators, "it is an honorable compromise." The worry of the Robles regime now is that some politicians may convince Panama's volatile public opinion that US concessions do not go far enough. A presidential election is coming up in May 1968; the treaty will be a major campaign issue.

HARVEY ROSENHOUSE

Mr. ROSENHOUSE is a senior editor of *Vision* magazine.

## *Elections in Vietnam*

# The Junta Has the Cards; The US Holds the Trump

### *Saigon*

Most Vietnamese professed to see the firm hand of the US behind the sudden uniting of the bitterly competitive election tickets of Chief of State, General Thieu, and Prime Minister, General Ky. The fact that Ky received the short end of the stick, the vice presidential end, was variously attributed to the embassy's (and especially Ambassador Bunker's) growing disenchantment with his antics as well as to Thieu's discovery that he had unsuspected support in certain quarters of the officer corps. With the deadline for filing electoral tickets only hours away (midnight of June 30), and with the US openly expressing its dismay at the divisive effect of a Thieu vs Ky battle, Thieu took advantage of a special month's-end meeting of the powerful Armed Forces Council to play his strongest cards. The Vietnamese public awakened on Saturday morning to hear the news in utter disbelief.

It was a morning full of surprises. The candidacy of retired general Duong Van Minh (Big Minh), exiled former premier and favorite son of the Tri Quang (militant) Buddhists, was confirmed. Even more unexpected was the announcement of the candidacy of Au Truong Thanh, former minister of finance and economy in the Khanh and Ky cabinets, on a bold peace platform.

Thanh, who is well known and highly regarded in the US as one of the few competent economists in South Vietnam (he masterminded last year's devaluation of the Vietnamese piastre and is largely credited with having prevented a considerably more disastrous inflation than that which has taken place) deliberately waited until one hour before the filing deadline so as to minimize chances of his disqualification. He still faces a major hurdle in achieving certification on the second listing, which is done by the government.

Au Truong Thanh's ticket has taken the name of the "Cease-Fire" ticket; its emblem is a bomb with a large X drawn through it. In a country where talk of "peace" and "negotiation" is worth a man's life, the Thanh candidacy is indeed a courageous move. The amiable, English-speaking Thanh says privately that even if the elections were free he could hardly expect to win; he has no national reputation, no organization, no funds. But he feels that peace is the major popular concern; he believes that none of the other candidates would have dared to raise it as a campaign issue. He

is gambling on his past contacts with Washington officials and American intellectuals and academics to serve as a protective shield against the sinister mishaps which have befallen other Vietnamese who have threatened or challenged the ruling generals.

Thanh followed up the announcement of his candidacy by addressing a public letter to generals Thieu and Ky demanding that they withdraw their candidacies in accordance with Article 17 of the election law which prohibits government employees from running for office. (Presumably they could also meet this requirement by taking leave of absence from their government functions.) He also asked that the US supply voting machines or that modern ballot boxes be provided so that switching of ballot boxes, a favorite practice in some previous Vietnamese elections, might be avoided. He also called for numbered ballots.

Thanh's demand that the generals withdraw their candidacies was promptly attacked in the government controlled press. Not surprisingly, disqualification of the military ticket is probably the one thing upon which all of the major civilian candidates can unite. (There were some 17 tickets approved on the first listing. Several of them, however, are not serious; they are covertly sponsored by the junta as a way of further splintering the civilian vote.)

The candidates with whom I have spoken, and the Buddhist leaders who are interested in the candidacy of the absent Duong Van Minh, are all skeptical about the degree to which the elections will reflect true popular sentiment. They are obsessed with the belief that Washington remains unwilling to risk a civilian government for fear that it might be either (a) unstable, or (b) disposed to enter prematurely into negotiations with the National Liberation Front. Many of the most intense Vietnamese nationalists see the September elections as probably the last opportunity to salvage their country; they are desperately afraid that it will prove to be a missed opportunity like so many others. Ambassador Bunker's traditional Independence Day reception echoed with chit-chat of "how much independence will the US permit the Vietnamese?" (An embassy chauffeur, asked by an amiable American visitor if he knew what the 4th of July signified, reportedly replied: "Yes sir. It's the day the American VCs won the war.")

Most of the civilian candidates feel that free elections can only be achieved if the military ticket is disqualified. The natural discipline of the military, which includes some 600,000 men, the vast sums at the military junta's disposal, and the general public knowledge that the "powers that be" want a Thieu-Ky victory are believed to be sufficient to assure success, especially in the police-state atmosphere which prevails. When these natural advantages are supplemented

by the innumerable opportunities for fraud which the incumbent government enjoys and by the fact that most provincial and many district chiefs are military appointees of the ruling junta, the chances for a civilian victory are indeed slim. They are made slimmer by the fact that a simple plurality rather than a majority is sufficient for victory, and the opposition vote will be split among several candidates. Thus, many Vietnamese feel that despite Washington's desire for fair elections, there can be none unless the special advantages enjoyed by the military junta's ticket were effectively removed, which means elimination of the ticket itself.

With the military ticket out of the running, retired general Minh would probably be the front runner. He would have Buddhist support as well as considerable backing among lower echelons of the military. His brief period as Vietnam's first chief of state following the fall of Diem was not characterized by brilliance of administration, and he is generally thought to be oriented toward a negotiated settlement as quickly as possible. But unlike most other candidates, he is widely known and popular among the lower classes and the peasants. The fact that the militant Buddhist faction, whose power was weakened but by no means broken last year, supports Minh suggests that his victory would eliminate the ever-present threat to unity which the Buddhist-military distrust has kept alive.

The refusal to permit Minh's return from exile is another major source for complaint against the Americans, for in the Vietnamese view the junta dare not openly refuse any reasonable demand of Washington. The Vietnamese are quick to point out that Minh has had no charges of wrongdoing leveled against him; he is kept in exile because his popularity constitutes a threat to the regime. There is talk of encouraging Minh to conduct his campaign *in absentia*. The junta's refusal to permit his return might set off a wave of national resentment and sympathy, which could catapult him into the national palace. It could also provoke civil war.

The only other civilian candidate with national stature is Tran Van Huong, also a former premier but a more controversial figure than Minh. With a prominent lay Buddhist in the number-two spot on his ticket, Huong, despite some ancient animosities in his relations with the militant Buddhists, might win their support if Minh is refused permission to return to Vietnam for the campaign. Buddhist leader Tri Quang does not rule out this possibility.

The Thieu-Ky ticket, however, is considered a shoo-in as of today. But tomorrow? You can even get bets that, given the uneasy military situation, no elections will be held at all in September.

ROBERT S. BROWNE

# Drug on the Market

by David Sanford

The real difference in aspirin products is the price. You can buy Bayer and pay for the name, or Brand X and save money. Aspirin, as doctors have known for years, is aspirin. The same is true for most drugs available only through prescription. One has a choice between an inexpensive product made by a company he's never heard of, or one made by Squibb or Upjohn that sells for 10 times more.

The brand-name hoax has hooked the public on all kinds of consumer goods. Two suits or TV sets are made by the same company but marketed under two different names – one expensive and familiar and one cheaper and unknown. The wise consumer, who knows the product as distinct from the label, buys the bargain. But when your health is at stake, you are less likely to take a chance. Quibbling over pennies or a few dollars seems senseless. The huge pharmaceutical companies exploit the fears of the sick, and of doctors who don't themselves have to pay for the drugs they prescribe. We pay heavily for a false sense of security.

Drug companies benefit from the lack of any central source of comparative data on drugs to prove that a brand-name drug and one called by its official or generic name and identical in chemical composition will have the same effect. In the absence of such comparisons, it seems less risky to buy the brand-name product. Currently the only way a physician can compare drugs is to consult the Physicians' Desk Reference, a kind of doctors' yellow pages containing the puffed-up claims of the drug companies. The listings are advertisements, certainly not dispassionate or objective scientific reports; they have the credibility of the conflicting claims in newspaper and magazine ads for Anacin, Excedrin, and plain old aspirin. A physician can consult the United States Pharmacopoeia, a volume compiled privately but blessed by Congress, if he wants to know if a drug meets US standards for safety and efficacy, but he still does not know whether Miltown and meproamate, identical in everything but name, are going to have the same therapeutic effect. This problem will be taken care of quickly enough if the Food and Drug Administration goes through with its plans to make such comparisons – but it is probably not worth the trouble.

An editorial note published in this journal June 24 ("How to Buy Drugs Cheaply") elicited a number of rebuttals from pharmacists who resented the suggestion that consumers might save money by boycotting

drugstores that don't stock generics, and that they take their business to mail-order firms specializing in generics, join buying cooperatives, or do a little comparison shopping. One registered pharmacist in Buffalo wrote: "The overriding issue in the controversy, in my mind, is the question of therapeutic efficacy of generic brands. I had an opportunity to study the dissolution of a few generic drugs and found that they did not dissolve as readily or completely as the brand name. One generic heart tablet did not dissolve at all! Others will crumble or break with little or no effort. I have also seen brands of generic drugs with grease, dirt and paper imbedded in them; there is no charge for the added ingredients. Until the public can be certain of the therapeutic effectiveness of generic drugs the better value for dollar spent will be the brand-name drug."

His examples are alarming. But what he ignores is that even a brand-name drug affects different people differently, that it will not have the same therapeutic effect on the same person each time he ingests it. (His stomach may be empty or full, he may be rested or fatigued, nervous or calm. All these things make for variations in a drug's effects.) Moreover, two lots of the expensive brand-name drug may not be chemically identical (some lots have been found by FDA to be mislabeled, adulterated, too potent, not potent enough). Finally, the argument does not address itself to the fact that one is as likely to find bits of metal in a brand-name eyewash, rubbing alcohol mislabeled citrate of magnesia, and so forth in a brand-name product as in a generic. The recalls of drugs from the market by the FDA have involved one as often as the other.

The scandal of the pharmaceutical industry is that one is taking a risk whenever he swallows any drug – brand-name or generic. It would be as reasonable, though hardly economic, for the big drug firms to caution, "don't take any drug until we know that all drugs are safe and efficacious" as it is to warn specifically against the cheaper products of their competitors. From a consumer's point of view, so long as taking any drug is a calculated hazard one might as well take it with a less expensive drug.

A few weeks ago *Time* magazine in an article had the bad luck to make a case for the superiority of Bayer aspirin on the very eve of a Federal Trade Commission announcement that it was taking action against the false and misleading claims that one brand of

aspirin is in any way better than another. *Time* made a point of Bayer's practice of exceeding USP standards for aspirin. Under the Kefauver drug amendments of 1962, drugs must be proved safe and efficacious if they are to be sold. If, as in the case last year of antibiotic throat lozenges, the drug companies cannot prove to FDA's satisfaction that a drug does what it's manufacturer claims, it can be taken off the market. The United States Pharmacopoeia sets standards for 900 drugs. If these are adhered to, as the law requires, then the drug is considered effective. Sterling Drug Company, which makes Bayer aspirin, goes to great, and as it turns out unnecessary, lengths to exceed USP standards. Says *Time*: "Before tableting . . . the basic chemical must be in tabular or needle-like crystals or crystalline powder; to produce a dependable dissolving rate, Bayer requires a special flake shape and needle shape (slender, tapered at both ends). USP permits .5 percent moisture and weight loss on drying; Bayer will tolerate none. USP allows up to .1 percent free salicylic acid; Bayer holds to one-third of that, and halves three other USP permissible deviations from absolute purity."

#### *Supererogatory Tests*

What the magazine did not say is that if a product is efficacious, safe and meets government standards, exceeding criteria may be gratuitous. Many brand-name drugs are alleged by their manufacturers to be superior to generics not because the active ingredients are any different, but because the sugar coating is different—cherry instead of vanilla. The difference between a bottle of tablets that dissolve in 30 seconds and one that takes two minutes may be a price mark-up of 300 percent and little else.

The second example *Time* chose to make a case for brand names was Penicillin G, made by E. R. Squibb & Sons under the expensive name Pentids. Squibb sells Pentids to pharmacies for \$6.62 per 100 tablets of 200,000 units. Pennex Products Co. sells the same drug by its generic name for 92 cents. Squibb runs more and lengthier tests than Pennex, tests not required by USP standards. *Time* did not note, however, that Squibb, for all its high standards and quality control, has had many mishaps. On April 15, 1965 the FDA recalled the company's Procaine Penicillin, which comes in disposable syringes, because the drug particles were too large to eject from the needle. Another Squibb Penicillin was recalled April 23, 1965 because of a labeling mix-up. In December 1962 a bottle supposed to contain Pentids Soluble was found instead to contain Diethylstilbestrol. Squibb has been involved in recalls for carton mix-ups, label mix-ups, foreign capsules, contamination, printing errors, excess potency, low po-

tency, ingredient substitution.

Senator Gaylord Nelson's current drug hearings may go on, a legislative aide said facetiously last week, into the 1980's; there's that much ground to cover. Nelson's immediate objective is passage of a bill (with Senators Morse and Russell Long) to add to the Kefauver drug amendments of 1961. It would in effect require the federal government to buy drugs used in the Medicare program by their generic names—something which the military and many private hospitals already do voluntarily. The law's principal side effect would be to make generics more easily obtainable. It would dramatically reduce the \$3.4 billion that Americans spend annually on prescription medicine. Once he's dispensed with brand names, Nelson will have time to look into more explosive matters such as price fixing, conspiracy, restraint of trade, monopolies, and an assortment of ethical lapses in the ethical drug industry. None of this should hurt the senator's popularity. His reelection next year may well hinge on whether some of Estes Kefauver's defender-of-the-common-man charisma can be made to rub off on him.

The hearings of Nelson's monopoly subcommittee—not one of the more powerful Senate bodies—have already unearthed some interesting information. For example, the drug industry is the highest profit industry in the United States, with profits running as high as 31 cents on an invested dollar—despite the industry's moaning about the high cost of research.

Drug companies sell brand-name products abroad at highly reduced, competitive prices; they could reduce prices at home and not go out of business. (Recently Merck dropped the price of Prednisone overnight from \$17.90 per thousand tablets to \$2.20.) They set prices in some cities far higher than in others. William Haddad, a former investigative reporter, poverty warrior and currently chairman of New York's Citizens Committee for Metropolitan Affairs (an unofficial ombudsman) did a survey in which he found New York City paying \$9.45 per 500 meprobamate tablets while Atlanta was spending \$31.20. Either the bureaucrats of Atlanta are stupid, in bed with the pharmaceutical companies, or bamboozled by drug company propaganda.

The hearings have also revealed that New Yorkers pay as much as nine times more for drugs (brand name) than they would have to (for generics). Ghetto Negroes in Albany were found to be paying more for brand-name drugs than residents of affluent white neighborhoods (\$6.65 for the antihypertensive Serpasil that whites bought for \$5.44).

Some large companies put their brand labels on drugs which they buy from smaller producers of generic drugs. Some sell their brand-name drugs to smaller companies to be sold generically and less ex-

pensively. Some brand-name companies themselves carry lines of generic drugs.

The contradictions of the drug industry were well stated by Mr. Haddad in his testimony and suggest the kind of action the government might take if it chooses to buck the powerful drug lobby:

"If generics are unsafe, as the drug companies charge, then you must ban their sale. You must stop doctors from prescribing these drugs generically. You

must stop the hospitals from buying them. And you must do it immediately. We are dealing with a life and death issue. If a drug sold generically does not meet its therapeutic potential, then a person may die. If, on the other hand, the arguments of the drug companies are not valid, they must be terminated. They must not be allowed to frighten Americans into paying higher prices for their medicines so the drug companies can increase their profits."

## It's Neat in Greece

by Robert F. McDonald

*"The Administration, encouraged by the apparent movement of the military junta in Athens toward the restoration of constitutional government, is considering relaxing restrictions on United States military aid to Greece."*

— JOHN FINNEY, The New York Times, July 7, 1967.

### Athens

The Greek "regeneration" has the sparkle of an American Legion meeting: the children must be neat; no youths in pool halls or taverns; no movies exploiting violence or sexual titillation; communists must be isolated (jail or prison camp) from "good" society until they accept "Greek principles" of Christianity and nationalism. "Communism is fascism," interior minister Brig. Gen. Stylianos Pattakos has said. "[Communists] are dictatorial. There is no dictatorship in Greece. The army and the people have made a revolution together." A staunch Orthodox Christian, Pattakos has a framed lithograph on his desk of Christ praying in the wilderness.

In a recent interview, I asked Pattakos whether he felt that morality and political loyalties could be legislated. But of course, he replied, someone must show the way, and where necessary push people on to the "right path." "Don't you believe there must be a moral law to guide man?" he asked. "Are there any better moral laws than the divine laws? And where are children going to learn this moral law since people don't say anything at home?"

So, within four days of the coup, General Pattakos banned miniskirts and long hair for schoolchildren and ordered them to attend church each Sunday. This was followed by a ban on beards. Reporters leapt on the ambiguous edict which, like many of the new regime's orders, took several days to clarify. First Pattakos said the ban was total. Did he mean it? Could he be seri-

ous? "What about respectable goateed old gentlemen?" he was asked.

"Those I would leave. Respectable beards I will leave."

"What about tourists?"

"We'll set up committees at customs to check on those."

"But won't it hurt tourism?"

"I don't care."

"But what about the wealthy bearded tourist? What about Archbishop Makarios?"

The ban really only applies to "bum tourists."

Set back by the adverse publicity, Pattakos issued his third edict quietly: no gambling at dice or cards. Since the coup, the local English language press has reported 80 arrests for gambling.

An unpublicized circular was sent to school personnel early in May, ordering a flag-raising ceremony each day, as well as morning prayers. Teachers were instructed to interpret each Sunday's gospel for their pupils. Education is to return to orthodox, Greek precepts, said the education and religious affairs minister, Constantine Kalambokias. "If you don't believe in the nation's ideals and values you have no place in the education system," he warned teachers. Church attendance skyrocketed, and special Saturday morning services had to be laid on for schoolchildren so there would be room for adults at Sunday Mass. But when the junta banned all youth groups except scouts, guides,

Junior Red Cross, and Sunday School, it soon had to make exceptions – for athletic clubs, amateur theatrical groups, etc. Asked about the purpose of such edicts, Gen. Pattakos answers: "When the communist followers' teachers, professors and students are cleaned up, things will be much better. When there's work to be done it will be done nice and clean. Schools will become flower gardens for the better development of students."

Addressing the nation April 21, the figurehead premier, Constantine Kollias, stressed that the press, too, must return to "its national mission. . . . Freedom of the press does not mean irresponsibility, misconduct, yellow journalism and rejection of every moral and national principle." As a result, circulations have plummeted. Prior to the coup many Greeks bought two or three papers; today many buy none. The news is identical to that broadcast by the army-controlled radio and the editorials compete to praise the government and condemn communism. News is managed, with headlines sometimes written to order and even position on the page controlled. For example, the death of the Russian cosmonaut, a headline story across Europe, got one paragraph in one English language daily.

Two papers, one communist, the other left-wing, ceased publication the day of the coup. All but a handful of their staff were arrested and confined to the detention island, Yiaros. At first, the regime insisted it wasn't meddling with the press. "We have imposed no censorship," a junta spokesman, Nicholas Farmakis, told the foreign press. "All papers are free to publish what they like – even the communists."

"From jail," a Belgian reporter quipped.

Farmakis blushed.

Two right-wing dailies, the solvent and influential *Kathimerini* and *Messimvrini* of Mrs. Helen Vlachou-Loundra refused to publish under censorship. She is now being sued by her staff for lost wages and could face prosecution under the martial law – though no charge has yet been laid. A fifth paper, liberal-left, died when its publisher went underground and employees refused to assume the responsibility of publication costs. The publisher has since been arrested. A sixth, also left-wing, went under when the publisher tried to postpone a payroll. He was arrested under a new labor edict on wages. All that having been accomplished, Colonel Papadopoulos on June 27 told the Athens Journalist Union he intended to restore freedom of the press and that newspapers should now assume their individual "personalities."

The state-controlled National Broadcasting Institute (EIR) has also been turned into a propaganda tool. Immediately following the coup, martial music and slogans reminiscent of a Chinese youth rally, flooded the air waves. "Let us take our heroic ancestors for an example. Let the flowers of regeneration bloom over

the debris of the reign of falsehood," boomed out between renditions of a march called "Go Go," and a male chorus intoning the glorious history of the navy. This blatant approach has been abandoned, but there are still periods during prime listening time when patriotic exhortations are broadcast on one band and alternative channels are blanked out.

The first move against the arts came when an Athens theatre company halted production of Aeschylus' tragedy, *Prometheus Bound*. Asked about the shutdown, General Pattakos said he knew nothing, but added it might have been because the translation was a bastardized modern version which read contemporary political implications into the text, and "if there are any [other] plays which might cause reaction, committees will be set up to examine them." A story in the June 13 *Athens News* read: "Ten actors and actresses were arrested for illegally meeting at the house of one of them in Athens Saturday. Police permission is required for meetings of more than five persons. They said they had gathered to read the script of a film." Last week, it was announced that actress Melina Mercouri and others will be deprived of Greek citizenship, because of their intemperate remarks about the government.

What about leftist or "blue" films? "Their case will be examined," Pattakos told me. It was. Early in June, the minister to the prime minister, Col. George Papadopoulos, banned 26 films – four Greek, 22 foreign – as "vulgarly realistic" or "propagandistic."

Songs of disbanded political groups have been outlawed, because they "inflamed passions." The music of Mikis Theodorakis – the man who scored the movies *Phaedra*, and *Zorba the Greek* – cannot be played. Although Theodorakis records used to sell some 1,500 copies a day, about 40 percent of the Greek market, his songs were branded "weapons of communism" and banned from the national radio almost two years ago. Theodorakis, a former communist deputy and leader of a belligerent left-wing youth movement, told me last spring that he used his songs to popularize the work of otherwise unknown left-wing poets – but only because he felt his lyricists were "truly Greek" and in sympathy with his efforts to establish a Hellenic folk school of composition. A new decree by chief of the army general staff, Odysseus Angelis, applies to Theodorakis' music with or without lyrics and bars "transmission by any means." Asked if this meant Theodorakis could not be sung in the bathtub, Pattakos said all he knew was "what I've read in the newspapers."

"But why ban Theodorakis?" a reporter asked. "He's a good composer."

"Very good," the general replied. "But he's a communist, and it's against the law."

Books have been hardest hit by the purge. Colonel Papadopoulos, often said to be the instigator of the

coup, quietly ordered 745 "communist and philo-communist" books removed from circulation late in May. A 38-page mimeographed list of proscribed publications was secretly distributed to dealers, wholesalers and publishers who were ordered to put the books in storage until further instruction from the government. At least two dealers who refused have been arrested. To date the ban applies only to Greek translations of foreign authors, but sources close to the local publishing trade say a second list is in preparation that may include foreign language editions.

Greek works prohibited include those of the late philosopher John Kordatos, novels by Galatea Kazantzakis (first wife of Greece's best-known author Nikos Kazantzakis) and poetry and translations by John Ritsos, one of Theodorakis' better known lyricists. Also outlawed are: publications under the imprint of the outlawed Greek Communist Party (KKE) and United Democratic Left Party (EDA), the writings of former communist guerrilla leaders, six encyclopedias compiled in eastern bloc nations, a Greco-Bulgarian dictionary and a Russian language textbook. The British classicist George Thomson and historian George Finley are in the same bag with Marx and Mao Tse-tung. The banned

list that was eventually made public indicated that only 188 works by Greek authors had been banned. It made no mention of the balance of the 745 titles. Although the books have not been removed from libraries, it can be considered a crime under a 1912 emergency law to borrow them. The library official who showed me his list was near tears as he pointed out various names. "Ah . . . why him? He was one of our most promising young men. And him, too. All his work banned for one book written in the heat of youth."

"Our aims," said Col. George Papadopoulos at his one and only meeting with the Western press, "are the social cleansing of our society, to put it into molds that will enable it to go further along the road to progress."

Among the most common souvenirs offered for sale in Greek tourist shops are drinking cups molded from plaster of paris and decorated with relief scenes depicting ancient Greece. Painted black and green, they at first look like old metal that needs burnishing.

"Can you drink from these?" I heard a woman tourist ask.

"Oh, no," replied the clerk. "They're molded from plaster, they melt in water."

## *The Latin Americans Teach the Greeks*

Latin America's armed forces may be backward in many respects, but they have developed a technique that Greece's military junta has understood—how to insure the restoration of US military aid after a coup, without actually giving up power.

The technique worked well in Argentina, where democratically elected governments were ousted by the armed forces in 1962 and 1966, despite Washington's threats to withdraw its assistance. Late in March 1962, the Argentine military decided that President Arturo Frondizi had to go. Frondizi, who had survived nearly three-dozen attempts to overthrow him, was finally dumped for making the mistake of allowing the Peronists to take part in—and win—congressional and gubernatorial elections. US diplomats were instructed to spare no effort in trying to head off the coup, warning the military that such action would be in conflict with the Alliance for Progress. This had no effect whatsoever. Consideration was given to withholding recognition and cutting off aid, but Washington was later persuaded there was no interruption to the constitutional process since Jose Maria Guido, the Senate president and Frondizi's legitimate successor, who became chief executive.

Nobody was gauche enough to point out that Guido was a virtual prisoner in the pink *Casa Rosada* and a puppet of whatever military faction was in control.

The next test came three months later in Peru, where the military opposed the election of Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, the grand old man of Latin American revolution,

to the presidency. When Haya won a plurality and the armed forces appeared ready to move, Senator Humphrey of Minnesota cautioned that such a step would mean the end of US aid. Peruvian military leaders were unimpressed. A military junta took over. This time, the reaction from Washington was prompt. President Kennedy suspended diplomatic relations, halted military assistance and sat back to see what would happen. Most of the Latin nations quickly recognized the new Peruvian government. Under pressure from US business interests in Peru and from the Peruvians themselves—two-thirds of whom had supported presidential candidates other than Haya—Washington recognized the junta a month later and restored aid. (As in Argentina, there was a promise to hold elections later.)

The formula for dealing with protests from Washington is simple—rationalize the coup by charges of communist infiltration and gross mismanagement; follow this with promises of free elections and the restoration of constitutional procedures within a "reasonable" time. It worked in Argentina again in 1966—although last year President Juan Carlos Ongania's dictatorship didn't even condescend to promise future elections in exchange for recognition—and in Guatemala, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Honduras and Brazil. Three weeks after Kennedy's assassination, President Johnson's first move in the hemisphere was to restore military and economic assistance to the Honduran and Dominican dictatorships.

NATHAN MILLER

# No More Nonsense About Ghetto Education!

by Joseph Alsop

It is time to stop talking nonsense about Negro education. It is time to start dealing with the hard, cruel facts of the problem of the ghetto schools, which is in turn the very core of the race problem in the United States. Above all it is time to cease repeating, "End *de facto* segregation!" as though this virtuous incantation were a magical spell. For school desegregation must always be a central and essential goal; but sad experience has proved that desegregation is very far from being an instant remedy.

For any practical-minded man, who holds that putting an end to racial injustice is the highest and most urgent task of this country at this time, the foregoing are the only possible comments on Judge James Skelly Wright's much-publicized decision concerning the District of Columbia's schools. The school system of the capital is sordid and shameful, and Judge Wright's moral indignation is only too well founded, as *The New Republic's* Alexander M. Bickel pointed out in these pages two weeks ago. Yet this decision can even be described as wicked; for it is always wicked to hold out false hopes and offer fake panaceas to those in desperate need of hope and help. And that, in essence, is precisely what Judge Wright's decision has done to the people of Washington – a city which has gradually become no more than a gigantic Negro ghetto thinly concealed behind a pompous white federal façade.

In justice to Judge Wright, it must be said at once that his evident good intentions were by no means the only good features of his decision. His condemnation of the discriminatory "track system" was fully justified. His comparison between the District's school expenditure – near to the lowest per pupil of any big city in this country – and the District's police expenditure – the nation's highest *per capita* – was both pointed and valuable. It was useful to emphasize, too, that per-pupil outlays in the District's few remaining white and quasi-white schools exceed the outlays in the deep ghetto schools by over a third. But it must be noted also, in this connection, that Judge Wright was here unknowingly putting his finger on one of the greatest deficiencies in the extremely deficient Coleman report (which seems to have influenced him greatly). For the

Coleman report, as Samuel Bowles and Henry M. Levin have noted in an important paper, never tested its conclusions about "equal" education by exploring the widespread existence of differential, per pupil outlays *within* school districts, as here in Washington.

But all this sinks into insignificance, as compared with the main thrust of Judge Wright's decision, which was to put forward more desegregation as the solution for the ghetto school problem in Washington, and presumably, as the solution in all the other American big cities where the same problem is festering and growing more inflamed with every passing year. In Washington, to begin with, serious school desegregation is such an obvious impossibility that it is plain silly to talk about it. Officially, any school that is more than half Negro is defined as segregated. But in the District of Columbia, the primary and elementary schools are 93 percent Negro, and even the high schools are pushing up toward 90 percent. Therefore, total, forcible homogenization of the entire school system would still leave Washington with overwhelmingly segregated schools. Indeed, this kind of forcible homogenization would quite certainly result in even greater segregation; for the predictable consequence would be an increase in the Negro percentage in the primary and elementary schools from 93 percent to 98 or 99 percent.

*Unprepared* desegregation in a grossly underfinanced school system has in fact been one of the two main causes of this city's transformation into an urban super-ghetto – a kind of near-Watts on a metropolitan scale. Since the war, every one of the great urban centers above the Mason-Dixon line has received countless thousands of Negro immigrants from the South. From this cause alone, Washington's Negro population has grown very greatly; but Negro immigration has been only one aspect of the two-sided demographic movement that has now produced a city two-thirds Negro and one-third white. The other aspect, equally important, has been white emigration to the affluent suburbs. And the crucial role of the schools in this white emigration can in turn be clearly seen, if you merely look at those who have fled and those who have stayed behind. Those who have stayed behind num-

ber close to 250,000; yet this white population of about a quarter of a million includes only 13,000 children of school age! Of the District's 13,000 white children of school age, furthermore, rather more than 5,000 attend parochial or other private schools. The conclusion is inescapable that Washington's remaining white population is almost exclusively composed of (a) old people, (b) single people, (c) couples without children of school age, and (d) couples who can afford to send their children to parochial or private schools or who live in the few neighborhoods where the schools are still mainly white. No such demographic result as that shown above could conceivably have been produced in the normal course of events. It means, beyond question, that just about every white couple outside the above-listed categories has moved to the suburbs, at least as soon as it came time to send the children to school.

The available statistics are grossly inadequate, but enough is known to show that precisely the same kind of two-sided demographic movement is tending to produce much the same sort of result in a good many other American urban centers. Washington, which has been treated as an exceptional case, is merely an *advanced* case. The best figures I have got thus far are for last year. Taking the percentages of Negro children in the primary and elementary schools as the gauge, one can then show how far six other major cities have traveled to date, along the road that has made the nation's capital into a concealed super-ghetto. Here is the picture:

Baltimore, schools 64 percent Negro, equals Washington in 1954-55.

Chicago, schools 56 percent Negro, equals Washington in 1952-53.

Cleveland, schools 53 percent Negro, equals Washington in 1951-52.

Detroit, schools 57 percent Negro, equals Washington in 1953-54.

Philadelphia, schools 60 percent Negro, nearly equals Washington in 1954-55.

St. Louis, schools 64 percent Negro, equals Washington in 1954-55.

Two fundamental problems are revealed by these figures. The first is what may be called the progressive ghettoization of a whole series of America's great urban conglomerations. In the fairly near future, this phenomenon can too easily produce social and economic consequences that hardly bear thinking about. Ghetto city centers, from which even commerce, banking and industry will have fled to the fatly affluent white sub-

urbs, are not an attractive prospect, either for the wretched ghetto-dwellers, or for anyone else. But this is not the problem to which I have been trying to address myself. I have been trying to show, rather, that in almost all cases, the practical result of *unprepared* desegregation is *an enlarged ghetto with a greater number of segregated schools than there were in the first instance*. This has in truth been the experience in every major Northern city known to me. Furthermore, it has been the experience in a good many cases in which the ugly influence of racial prejudice can be effectively ruled out. In the first flush of civil rights enthusiasm, for example, the parents of a liberal-Jewish neighborhood in Brooklyn voted all but unanimously to pair their school with a nearby ghetto school. The New York Board of Education promised special support (which took the ludicrously inadequate form of a general patch-up of the school buildings). PS 7 and PS 8 were then merged, wholly on the motion of the white parents. But within a very short time, two segregated schools had come into being where there had been one before. The pairing caused school quality to go to Hell in a hack; and the white parents, seeing their children's education in jeopardy, either sent them to private schools or moved to the suburbs. And these were the very same parents, mind you, who had sponsored the pairing.

#### *When the Burden Becomes Too Much*

This is only one item of evidence — there is a mass of it, for instance, in the supporting studies behind the Watts report — to show that school quality is a far more important factor than racial feeling, in this white flight from desegregated schools that has made such a mockery of the good intentions of people like Judge Wright. When a middle-class school receives a massive infusion of children of extremely deprived background — whether Puerto Rican, or Mexican-American, or Appalachian white, or Negro — there are only two possible results. Either the added burden of the disadvantaged, educationally retarded children becomes too much for the teaching staff, whereupon school quality promptly and shockingly deteriorates and middle-class emigration quickly begins. Or the local school authorities take all the special measures that are needed to maintain school quality, in which case — thus far an almost unheard-of case — there is an excellent chance that most of the emigration can be averted.

Nor is this the end of the grim story. If we are honest with ourselves, the overwhelming majority of the children of the ghettos are going to be educated exclusively in ghetto schools; and this is going to go on happening for many years to come, no matter how much poulting and patching and court-ordering we

---

JOSEPH ALSOP is a syndicated columnist who lives in Washington, D. C. His most recent book is *From the Silent Earth*.

may do. Free busing can and should be offered. Gerrymandered white school districts can and should be condemned (while due preparation is also made to maintain school quality). More integrated housing patterns can and should be promoted by every means possible. But these measures (strengthened, if you please, by every other measure you may happen to fancy) can never do more than fray the fringes of the ghetto school problem in cities with school populations 50 percent Negro and above. It is scandalous – it is indeed a bitter indictment of the large group in the American intellectual community that has concerned itself with the matter – that so few have been willing to face the distasteful, inescapable truth, which has been glaringly visible for years. The truth is that whatever else we may do, the problem of the ghetto schools must be mainly solved *inside the ghetto schools*, at any rate for a long time to come.

### *The Unique Non-Remedy*

As an example of the scandal, consider the recent Civil Rights Commission report on "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools." It shows that America's schools are just about as segregated as they ever were, despite all the court orders that have been issued since 1954, and all the attempts, more or less sincere, to comply with those court orders. It says nothing of the white emigration that has played such a huge role in making a nonsense of the court orders. Using evidence chosen with suspicious selectivity (and misusing it gravely at that, if the Philadelphia data are any guide), the report further seeks to discredit school improvement inside the ghettos. By implication, it takes the shocking though fashionable liberal educators' view once so bitterly but accurately summarized by Floyd McKissick in this journal's pages, that if you "put Negro with Negro, you get stupidity." And having established school desegregation as the unique remedy, the report finally proposes busing on a massive scale as the best means to secure desegregation. Yet the report is datelined Washington, where no amount of busing would make the school system anything but segregated – short of a constitutional amendment permitting forcible imposition of wholly different living and schooling patterns in the District, Maryland and Virginia. Are we then to conclude that more than 90,000 Negro schoolchildren in Washington are to be forever condemned to defeat and despair? Or are we to conclude that this report, like so many other very similar documents, is the product of the kind of self-serving reasoning that must too often be expected, alas, from virtuous academics with a personal vested interest in a badly researched theory?

The answer is, of course, that it is not only viciously

heartless and socially disastrous, but also wholly needless, to accept the viewpoint of the Civil Rights Commission and Judge Wright. There is something arrogant, there is even something disgusting, in this strange view that ghetto children can never be rescued, can never be educated, unless they are subjected to the benign classroom influence of white middle-class children. Ghetto children have all the potential of any other children; but in their background of poverty and deprivation, they have a heavy handicap. What is needed, therefore, is to overcome the handicap, by those special measures I have already mentioned as useful and needful to prepare for school desegregation, wherever desegregation is feasible. This means taking a series of steps of the most ABC simplicity. First, the children's school experience must begin early, at least in pre-kindergarten. For the inability to speak common English, which afflicts so many children of the ghettos, can only be overcome by catching them very young. Second, they must be taught in small classes – not more than 15 in pre-kindergarten and kindergarten, and not more than 22 or so in grades one through six. Otherwise, *teaching* will cease and keeping order will become the sole aim. For ghetto children mainly come from homes wholly unoriented to learning and to books. Gaining and holding their learning-attention (which is the right way to maintain sound discipline) is therefore the most difficult feat for every teacher in every ghetto school. And only reduced classes permit good, average teachers to accomplish this feat. Third, a certain number of backup teachers are needed – one extra for each three or four classes – so that when Billy and Sally, Victor and Jane begin to fall behind, these laggards can be promptly gathered into still smaller classes, for more concentrated work until they catch up again. Fourth, all the obvious extras in the way of remedial reading, health care, psychiatric care, etc., also have to be provided. These are, in fact, the principal features of the More Effective Schools program, that has been under way in New York City for three years. One wonders why this program was not chosen for study by the authors of the Civil Rights Commission's report. Perhaps the answer is that in the More Effective Schools, all children have shown a very great average improvement, and those children who have begun in pre-kindergarten and continued on from there are actually performing, on average, *at grade level or above*. If this program had been chosen for analysis, it would have sadly undermined the thesis of the authors of the Civil Rights Commission report; but it is nonetheless quite wonderful news, which should be published in Mao-style Big Character Posters in the corridors of every university where educational theorists flourish.

That it should be news at all, is a considerable show-up of the ways of thinking and working and dealing

with facts of all too many American white liberal intellectuals. In this instance, it goes without saying that properly prepared school desegregation is the ideal solution of the educational problem of America's Negro minority. It goes without saying, too, that wherever desegregation can be successfully accomplished, the moral and social duty to accomplish it must never be dodged or ducked, even if the needed preparations for successful desegregation are difficult, time-consuming and costly. But a good many of our liberal intellectuals never appear to have heard the rule, "*Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*"; it never appears to occur to them, in fact, that exclusive pursuit of the ideal solution can prevent the practical solution; and few of them seem to have bothered to do the tedious homework, on urban demographic patterns, for instance, that would have shown them how far the ideal solution is out of reach for most ghetto children at present. Their performance would be less unadmirable, I must add, if they had been content to urge their ideal solution, despite its unreality for all but a small minority of ghetto children. But they have not been content. A good many of the liberal educators and sociologists have done everything possible to discredit and to block the practical solution of the educational problem of our Negro minority, which is radical school improvement inside the ghetto. These people seem to have taken the attitude, in fact, that if they could not get desegregation, nothing else would do – and to hell with the millions of Negro children who have little hope of entering integrated schools!

#### *Quality on the Cheap*

This has been a main reason, one suspects, for the extraordinary belatedness and extreme paucity of the serious attempts to help these children, and for the almost universal failure to defend and support those attempts when they have been made. In New York in 1957, for instance, the Demonstration School Project produced excellent results at the high school level, at a cost of about \$200 per pupil above the normal outlay. Whereupon the New York Board of Education, by an automatic reflex, tried to get the same results at about one-third the extra cost, in the Higher Horizons program, which was a flat bust. But did anyone protest the debasement of the Demonstration School Project into Higher Horizons? Almost no one did; and meanwhile a chorus of progressive educators has ever since been heard, proclaiming that Higher Horizons' wholly predictable failure was final proof of the uselessness of improved education in ghetto schools. In the same fashion, the More Effective Schools program, which has an extra per-pupil cost of about \$430 a year, is beginning to be nibbled to death by the economy-ducks on the Board of Education; but no one has sprung to its

defense except this writer and, far more importantly, the United Federation of Teachers, whose leaders largely devised the program. And this program, launched in 1964-65, is literally the first to produce clear test results showing that ghetto children can be given a fully adequate education in ghetto schools. For when the testers say that the children who were caught young enough by the More Effective Schools are performing, on average, *at grade level and above*, they merely mean that these children are performing just as well as white middle-class children. And this is the first case of complete victory over that terrible educational lag that is the curse of America's Negro minority.

For economic and social reasons, because of injustice and discrimination, above all, because of the circumstances in which this heedless, ruthless society condemns them to live, Negro children normally enter the first grade considerably behind white children; and worse still, they generally fall further and further behind, the longer they stay in school. On average, those who stay through high school are by then three and a half years below grade level, which means that the *average Negro high school graduate only has a slightly better than eighth grade education*. "Stay through high school" is in fact the right phrase, rather than "go through high school." Since the average is at the level of eighth-grade-plus, it is not surprising that the military draft tests have revealed a shockingly high proportion of functional illiterates, even among Negro high school graduates. Add the two-thirds and more of Negro boys and girls who drop out before finishing high school, and you have a frightening result.

Briefly, 400,000-plus eighteen-year-old Negroes are annually injected into this country's socio-economic bloodstream; but of these 400,000-plus, hardly 10 percent have the true equivalent of a normal white middle-class high-school education – which means no more than an ordinary *blue-collar education*! In other words, we annually add to the American body politic no less than 360,000 Negroes of both sexes who are wholly

COMING: *The no-longer  
silent welfare poor –  
by Richard Cloward &  
Frances Fox Piven*

unequipped to get or hold any job in which grossly deficient schooling is a handicap – and that means, more and more with every passing year, just about any job at all! If a malevolent and astute racist were asked to design a system guaranteed to prevent Negro achievement, to promote bitterness, frustration and violence, to perpetuate and even to intensify discrimination, this is the system that he would surely come up with. To reform this system, any outlay, any sacrifice, any effort, however great and however painful, is not merely a moral imperative; it is also a political and social imperative of the most pressing and urgent character. And the system is not going to be reformed, alas, by more desegregation orders.

### *What Will It All Cost?*

The outlays for adequate reform will be enormous indeed, when and if we make up our minds to pursue desegregation by all means possible, but also, and above all at this stage, to insure quality education in the ghetto schools that are beyond practical reach of early desegregation. The job can only be done by the federal government, for the cities and states are already overstrained; and it will cost billions – how many billions, no one has figured out, but certainly quite a number.

There are two points to make in this connection. First of all, anyone who discovered a reasonably reliable cancer cure, and then withheld it because of its expense, would be treated as a monster. And in effect, we are talking, here, about a social-political-economic cancer that is approaching the terminal stage. Secondly, however, the proof by the More Effective Schools that improved schools really can cure the cancer is by no means a proof that the MES program is the ideal cure. There may be other, better, perhaps cheaper ways to get comparable results. Since what is required is positive discrimination – by which I mean very much heavier investment per pupil in ghetto and other deprived neighborhoods – it is obvious that the discrimination should be no greater than is absolutely necessary. (In New York there is already resentment of the MES program, even within the ghettos, among parents of children whose neighborhood schools have not been included in the program – and since there are only 21 More Effective Schools, and expansion of the program has been halted by the duck-nibblers, that means, potentially, resentment by something like nine-tenths of the ghetto parents in New York.) Thus a systematic and unbiased effort should be inaugurated, to see whether comparable results can be attained in more economical ways. Such an effort should center in New York City, for the test-background of MES, though so brief, is unique and therefore essential for comparative purposes. Instead of unsystematic nibbling, such

as the Board of Education has now begun, expansion of the MES program should clearly be resumed. A follow-on program should equally clearly be adopted, in particular in the relevant junior high schools. Otherwise many of the MES children will experience the kind of disheartening setback on entering jungle-junior-high, that the Head Start children have experienced when they have entered unimproved primary schools. But these supportive measures should also be combined with experiments to discover whether altering this or that expensive feature – using one back-up teacher for every four classes, instead of one for every three as at present, for example – will produce satisfactory results.

The only point on which there should be no compromise is the schoolchildren performing *at grade level*. And if even larger investments are shown to be required – for example, in recreational and para-education activities after normal schools hours, in the schools of the very most tragic neighborhoods – then there should be no nasty nonsense about this being “too expensive,” to quote the mole-sighted new chairman of the New York Board of Education, Albert Giardino. When you are talking about cancer cures, “too expensive” is an impermissible phrase. And of course, in this systematic experimental effort, due attention should also be given to the other efforts of school improvement much more recently launched under Title I of the Education Act, which will surely be remembered as the greatest domestic achievement of the Johnson Administration. If one or another of these show, when the tests have all been made, that there is another, cheaper or better way to get the ghetto children to perform *at grade level*, that will be the system to back wholeheartedly.

In this business, there are only three rules. First, face the facts as they are, and deal with them as they are. Second, spend no more than is needed for the children to perform, on average, at grade level; for this is the outside limit of positive discrimination that other people are likely to tolerate. But, third, invest until it hurts cruelly, if need be, so that the average performance of the children of the ghettos reaches grade level or above; for there is no other cure for the cancer that threatens American urban life.

I am not so foolish as to suppose that the hoary, furtive vice of racial prejudice can be abruptly overcome by this long-range cure, any more than I suppose that *prepared* school desegregation can do more than greatly soften the effects of racial prejudice. But I submit, the white people of goodwill in America, and above all our well-intended liberal intellectuals, have been almost inconceivably unrealistic, flabbily-minded and lazy about learning the facts concerning this cardinal American problem. Take a minority differentiated

by skin color. Tolerate a national school system that gives nine-tenths of this minority an education very widely inferior to the normal education of blue collar workers, let alone persons of higher achievement. How, then, can you expect or hope for an end to discrimination and racial prejudice?

Or if you want the other side of the medal, look at the few areas in American life, in which prejudice and discrimination have been, if not absolutely banished, at least minimized in recent years to the point where there is no grave problem. Too few people recall that in the lifetimes of a good many of us, Marian Anderson and Joe Lewis were, in some sense, nine day wonders as well as precursors. And too few people are even aware that real integration of the armed services only began in the line in Korea. (I can still remember AWOL Negro soldiers from the segregated logistical units, and even from the unhappy 24th Regiment, coming up to the hottest parts of the line – one or two, or three or four, or even 10 or 12 a day – to ask whether there was any place for them in battalions in combat; and I remember, too, how they were warmly welcomed, though the battalion commanders always knew they were AWOL, simply because the line was stretched so thin in those first months of the war!) Yet in the arts – not just jazz, but all the arts and throughout show business – and sports and the armed services, discrimination has now been so largely overcome. And what has so largely overcome discrimination in these tragically few departments of our national life? Brilliant Negro achievements is the answer. And what has permitted this achievement in these special areas? Again, the answer is the relative easiness of achievement in these few areas, despite deficient schooling, for those with aptitude and ambition and courage.

#### *Moral Cart Before the Practical Horse*

Once again, I am not so foolish as to suppose that high achievement in every area of national life would be immediately guaranteed, even if every one of the 400,000-plus Negroes who become 18 each year were assured of a first-rate high school education, with the university to follow, of course, for the abler boys and girls. Prejudice is an ugly reality. The tentacles of custom, born of prejudice, are also ugly realities. Yet those same tentacles had the armed forces in their grip less than two decades ago, and had the world of sports in their grip hardly more than three decades ago. And what has lopped off the tentacles? Negro achievement, and nothing but Negro achievement. For no amount of enforced desegregation would have ended discrimination in the hard-bitten army and harder-bitten professional sports teams, if Negroes had not pegged even,

and often much better than even, with their white fellow soldiers and fellow athletes. Yet in most areas of our national life, conspicuous Negro achievement is all but impossible, simply because so few American Negroes as yet receive normally decent schooling. Give them the needed education. At the outset, it may be, only seven in 20 will break through the barriers of prejudice and custom. But those few will surely inspire the next generation to say, "If *they* could do it, *we* can do it." And by the same token, white prejudice will surely be eroded, in every area where Negroes are enabled to achieve highly.

The truth is that in our approach to almost every aspect of the race problem – whether segregation, or discrimination, or Negro poverty, or whatever it may be – we have persistently been placing the moral cart before the practical horse. Education is the key to the whole problem, because education leads to jobs; jobs, lead to achievement; and achievement reduces discrimination. That is the common-sense formula, which puts the horse ahead of the cart. And if we do not get the moral cart moving at long last – if we cannot provide good education and decent jobs for our Negro fellow citizens, and if these first steps do not begin to erode discrimination and open ever wider doors of opportunity – then this country can too soon become a place in which none will wish to live, who still care much about the things that America is supposed to stand for.

Some may say: "But if many white Americans have always cared so much about these things America is supposed to stand for, why this belated sense of urgency? Why did not Franklin Roosevelt, for instance, begin pressing for serious civil rights legislation nearly 40 years ago?" In the abstract, those who say this will be dead right. But the sad truth is that any national problem that is highly controversial, very difficult, yet possible to shove under the rug, invariably ends by getting shoved under the rug with extreme firmness. While the race problem in America was mainly a rural Southern problem, it could still be shoved under the rug. But in the last two decades and more, our race problem has more and more become a Northern urban problem, as well as a more and more urban problem even in the South, where the major cities show the same pattern of demographic change already traced above. In this new guise, the race problem cannot any longer be shoved under the rug. Justice must be done at last, or we must expect a gradual decline toward the sort of country that will choose a new President Verwoerd. Those are, literally, the choices before us. For my own part, I am confident that justice can and will be done, at no matter what cost to the budget and the taxpayer, if only we can manage to look at the problem in common-sense terms.

# STANLEY KAUFFMANN *Debt of Thanks*

I owe a debt of thanks to a recent graduate of Olean High School whom I have never met. Olean is a pleasant New York town of 22,000 about 70 miles south of Buffalo near the Pennsylvania border. I was there for a day last month to speak at the summer session of a small university, and in the course of the afternoon I overheard a remark made by one of my faculty hosts. Glancing through the local paper at the story of the high school commencement, he murmured, "His father must love *that*." Then he added sadly, "Poor kid. They'll remember this when he's in service and he comes up for a commission."

We were interrupted at that point, and I forgot the matter. Later that night in my motel room I couldn't sleep, and, in place of nembutal, I reached for the *Olean Times Herald*. Page 3 was devoted to the high school commencement. The valedictorian's speech was printed in full, and I thought it might help me to drop off. "Commencement means the beginning of new responsibilities. . . . We must make something of ourselves that will contribute to others . . ." and so on. Perfect. By the time I finished and moved on to the salutatorian's speech, also printed in full, I was pleasantly dozy.

He woke me up. This obviously was the speech that had disturbed my host. This salutatorian speech, by F. Scott Murray of the Class of 1967 of Olean High School, began:

"Our American foreign policy is based on a myriad of good intentions; but, as often happens, those good intentions have been misdirected and ill-administered so that the net result is contradictory to the original intention."

Then Mr. Murray, in the middle of this page that looked like every page devoted annually in every small-town paper to conventional commencement speeches, went on to say:

"Just because we are on top of the world does not mean that our sys-

tem is best for the world. Democracy may not be the best form of government for everyone, as capitalism may not be the best economic system for everyone. . . . We have limited our orientation of the world to a two-valued one—communist and non-communist—evil and good."

He closed by saying that he is willing to defend his country abroad "either verbally or physically," but before he finished, he said:

". . . I believe that the United States has more to gain by the success of nationalism than the containment of communism. I believe that it is neither the duty nor the right of the United States to sort out all those problems for the revolutionary and potentially revolutionary societies of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Specifically, I feel we might have more to gain in Vietnam by supporting Ho Chi Minh, an extreme nationalist, against Red China. . . ."

There went a good portion of my night's sleep. The ideas in Mr. Murray's speech were hardly new or newly developed; it was the *fact* of the speech, in this Norman Rockwell context, that surprised me. I searched the accompanying news story for some account of the audience's reaction, but there was no mention of it. I saw only that Mr. Murray was among those receiving Board of Education Achievement Awards and New York State Regents Scholarships. Perhaps the newspaper had discreetly omitted any mention of adverse audience reaction to "protect" the young man.

What the speech made me think about was two matters: communication and courage. For the first, it was quite clear that something or someone had communicated with this young man's mind. Although plenty of dissenters have come from small towns, small towns have never been hotbeds of intellectual dissent; and the massing of mass communications only seems to have

worsened this condition. Increasingly one gets the feeling that distortions of truth are widely reported if they represent majority views and that other acts are widely distorted if they represent minority views. For example, every hamlet has seen and heard our President, mouthing empty county-fair heroics to the Baltimore meeting of Junior Chambers of Commerce, and has seen our Vice-President, who varies his public smiles with public tears, linking arms with an avowed racist governor and declaring that there is room in their political party for all kinds of folks. But the Vietnam Peace March in New York on April 15th was also widely reported—in a minimizing and distorted way. I was in that march, and I do not believe that fewer than several hundreds of thousands of people could have filled all that space, most of whom were quite conventional people. There were a few thousand juvenile show-offs and, apparently, an even smaller number of convinced extremists. A clipping I saw from a major newspaper showed a photograph of some of the latter burning an American flag, with a caption about the peace-march orgy and a few lines of type below it. This is all that one large American city read about a massive and very moving demonstration by men and women from all over the eastern United States.

Television does a somewhat franker and fuller job than most newspapers because some matters, like the Vietnam war, are such great entertainment. How can synthesized horror films compete with those newsreel shots? (Of horrors committed by both sides.) Yet television, too, has "slotted" the war as if it were the major sports event of the decade. "We'll have tonight's Vietnam story after this message," says the newscaster; then, after a commercial, we get the day's scores in the National League, the American League, and the Vietnam war. Even when television offers a long documentary report on a controversial subject, the predominant effect usually is of trimming. —

(Continued on page 38)

# BOOKS AND THE ARTS

## Mr. MacLeish's New Play

by John Wain

Mr. MacLeish has a weakness for the large subject; he finds convenient fairways in the major myths; previous works of his have rehandled the material of *Hamlet* and of the Book of Job. In this, he is at one with many or most 20th-century poets. To a superficial eye, modern writing may appear to be dominated by journalism and documentary; in any deeper per-

*Herakles*

A Play in Verse

by Archibald MacLeish  
(Houghton Mifflin; \$4)

spective, it can be seen as what it is, an age of mythopoeic imagination. In Yeats' poetry, Cuchulain fights the ungovernable sea; in Eliot's, Tiresias foresuffers all. The protagonists of Dylan Thomas' poetry walk their rain-swept mountains chanting echoes from the Bible. Modern French literature is full of rehandling of the classical myths; Jean Cocteau, indeed, might be said to have made it his life's work to recreate myths and fairy tales within the context of modern poetry and the modern cinema. The rival tradition, that of accurate observation of the surface of life, is puny by comparison. The real exploration is inward, into the heart of the human mystery. The motto of Picasso or Henry Moore might be these words from Yeats' *The Trembling of the Veil*:

"I know now that revelation is from the self, but from the age-long memoried self, that shapes the elaborate shell of the mollusk and the child in the womb, that teaches the birds to make their nests; and that genius is a crisis that joins the buried self for certain moments to our trivial daily mind."

If Yeats was the greatest modern poet using English, then Eliot was the sec-

ond in rank; and Eliot, in his very different idiom, joins his testimony to that of the Irish poet. To him, the deeply inward, ultimate human self is the subject matter of literature, and this self (which is also the center of our religious being, since it alone knows anything of God) can only be reached by what Eliot specifically called "the mythical method." His best formulation of it is in an essay of 1923 on Joyce's *Ulysses*, which he did not afterwards collect:

"In using the myth, in manipulating a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity, Mr. Joyce is pursuing a method which others must pursue after him. They will not be imitators, any more than the scientist who uses the discoveries of an Einstein in pursuing his own, independent, further investigations. It is simply a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history. . . . Instead of narrative method, we may now use the mythical method."

Mr. MacLeish has certainly made it a central part of his business to "manipulate a continuous parallel" between the immemorial and the modern. Thus far I can applaud. But I must admit that the grounds of his considerable success are, for the most part, opaque to me. I cannot understand why *The Hamlet of A. MacLeish* was ever taken with much seriousness, even enough to justify Edmund Wilson's wickedly funny parody of it. His epic, *Conquistador*, is hardly any more readable than the general run of long narrative poems in our time, which means virtually that it is not readable at all. His most successful verse play, *J.B.*, had a good run in the theatre, and I can only assume

that it had some sort of theatrical vitality that made it worth watching; but on the page it is so disastrously inferior to the original as to be positively agonizing. I think if I were to spend an evening in the theatre following the story of Job, I would rather have someone come on to the stage, open the Bible and just read the story aloud; it is one of the greatest works of literature, quite arguably the greatest, and in MacLeish's treatment of it, as in his treatment of *Hamlet*, one has the uncomfortable sensation of watching the original "stiffen in a rented house."

In spite of all this, a new work by MacLeish is always worth looking into; there is always the chance that he might have rung the bell; the evidence of his shorter poems is there to remind us that he is, or has been, a poet of true sensibility and originality. One of these, "Ars Poetica" (1926), must be one of the most often quoted of all modern poems, partly no doubt because it has provided a slogan for the modern criticism of poetry, but also because it is genuinely impressive: I quote the concluding lines:

A poem should be equal to:  
Not true.

For all the history of grief  
An empty doorway and a maple leaf.

For love  
The leaning grasses and two lights  
above the sea -

A poem should not mean  
But be.

*Herakles*, I am glad to report, is rather more successful in "being" than *J.B.* was. It is deftly constructed as one large-scale metaphor: of man's achievement resulting in a sharpened confrontation with what is tragic in his destiny. The play has two acts, and it presents two great achievers: powerful, driving males, flanked by their ministering, suffering and disbelieving females, and by their various offspring both present and absent. The first is a physicist called Professor Hoadley,

a celebrity, fresh from being awarded the Nobel Prize and from making his appropriate oration. Hoadley has achieved much, and feels that he has struggled and won through in the name of humanity itself; when his wife derisively quotes a fragment from his speech, he defends himself by saying, "It wasn't *me* that spoke there." With a laugh, she asks, "Who? Mankind?"

**Hoadley:**

(*shrug*) Somehow, at a time like that, you get to sounding . . .

**Mrs. Hoadley:**

Oh it wasn't God.

He's dead, now, isn't he?

Odd he should be dead just now when his absence is everywhere.

**Hoadley:**

I wasn't there to answer for myself. They wanted work – a man at work – a scientist caught at being scientist – a discoverer fresh from his discovery, his new found land.

When the discoverers came home no one asks them who they are: it's where they've been that matters –

what continents, what islands, seas . . .

Magellan known forever by that narrow water. That's how they'll remember me – not Hoadley but his voyage. That's what I spoke for – for the voyage . . .

*twisting his chair to look at the pulsing image in the glass* struggling in the labyrinth like all the rest before it in the history of mankind, and suddenly, unlike the rest, compelling passage and accomplishing the dark . . .

only to bear the black sail home . . . conquering our ignorance and ending heart-sick in the triumph of ourselves!

Hoadley knows that in his chosen field, science, mankind has suddenly bettered all previous achievements and taken a flying leap forward. He also knows, because unlike most scientists he is not a complete fool about social matters, that the human race is, if anything, in a worse mess than it has ever been in before; that the hero has returned from the voyage neither bringing comfort nor finding it.

Once this awareness is established, Hoadley disappears from the action; his function has been to act as a prototype of Herakles. In Act Two, Hoadley's wife, with their young daughter and her English governess (do English governesses still exist?), visit the temple of Apollo and are vouchsafed a vision of Herakles and his wife Megara.

The myths concerning Herakles, or Hercules, are a tangled mass from which writers, from Euripides onward, have chosen what suited them. Mr. MacLeish finds what he wants in a variant of the story which I hadn't come across before. According to the usual version, Herakles was driven mad by Hera, who had been hostile to him from his birth, and in his madness slew the sons born to him by Megara, as well as two children of his half-brother Iphicles, and then in his grief sentenced himself to exile, consulting the oracle at Delphi as to where he should settle; all this took place before the Twelve Labors. Mr. MacLeish signals his departure from this tradition by a laconic note in which he tells us:

" . . . As the generation of Euripides

knew the myth, it was after the Labors had been accomplished and the dog dragged from the gate of death that Herakles, unknowing, killed his sons."

So Herakles, like Professor Hoadley, comes back from his voyages and his terrifying labors, triumphant and cursed. His slaughter of his sons is presented as an event of the mind, a sudden sickening awareness that overtakes him and Megara; this, too, has its parallel in the life of the Hoadleys, for we are given to understand that the Professor and his wife have a son who is both homosexual and a wastrel, and that the boy's ruin is somehow or other their fault.

That, roughly, is what the play is about – what it "not means, but is." MacLeish has got hold of a real subject, and he is too experienced to miss the opportunities inherent in it. Also, since there is no one clearly defined masterpiece, like the Book of Job, towering in the background, but only a tangle of stories which can well bear being told again, there isn't that crippling sense of secondhandness. The writing, line by line, is not very interesting, but probably speakable by actors. Rhythmically – and for the writer of verse drama rhythm is by far the most important single technical problem – MacLeish has kept well clear of the ten-syllable iambic that makes any play sound like sub-Shakespeare; the verse he uses most is a brisk four-beat line that derives, I suppose, from Eliot's *Sweeney Agonistes*. Eliot, one is bound to add, used it much better; in fact a comparison of the two brings out the brilliance of Eliot's technique: how he could build up tension by an apparently banal repetition, as in the vapid chatter of Doris and Dusty which is somehow loaded with apprehension. MacLeish has very few passages which come off quite successfully; the best writing, on the whole, is in set-pieces like Herakles' description of going down into Hades to fight Cerberus:

Great slot in the rock at Troezen.  
Swallows nest there in the lofts of  
stone  
twittering in their silvery voices  
You step into night . . .  
steep stair . . .



distinctive

## CHRISTMAS CARDS

The new catalogue of famous Metropolitan Museum cards—Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael and Titian, goldsmiths' work in silver-gilt and translucent enamel, medieval sculpture and stained glass in precious colors, Renaissance angels, Persian miniatures, tapestries in wool

and silk, Victorian Christmas illustrations, American primitives, prints by Dürer and Rembrandt, and a festive variety of designs from Japan, India, Spain and ancient Greece.

☆ The cards, printed in limited editions, cost from 5 to 95 cents each, and can be bought only by mail or at the Museum itself. The catalogue – also illustrating Museum jewelry and other unusual Christmas presents – will be mailed about September first.

**The Metropolitan Museum of Art**

255 Gracie Station, New York 10028

Please send me the Museum's new catalogue of Christmas cards, 25 cents enclosed L3

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

"The first order of business is finding an answer to war...nothing that anyone is doing really makes sense unless it contributes in some way to the making of a rational peace. Big institutions, public or private, can become big rubble in the absence of a transcendent purpose."

From an editorial by Norman Cousins  
Editor, *Saturday Review*

## A special invitation for new readers who share *Saturday Review's* transcendent purpose...and its wide range of interests

Today's expanded *Saturday Review* is a vital force in the search for world peace. The Society of Magazine Writers recently presented its sixth Richard L. Neuberger Award to *Saturday Review* for "its courage and persistence in presenting the issue of peace."

Today's expanded *Saturday Review* is also a vital force in the life and thought of its readers—now numbering over *half a million*. And in the life and thought of the nation as well.

Each weekly issue is concerned with the problems and people, the hopes and humor that are a daily part of our lives. Subjects vary from foreign policy to foreign films, from red schoolhouse to Red China. But the clarity of the writing, the authority of the writers, are unvarying.

*Saturday Review* articles match your moods, your interests, your needs. Here is a representative sampling from recent issues:

- **PEACE, EMPIRE, AND WORLD GOVERNMENT** by Arnold Toynbee
- **THE THREE R'S IN CALIFORNIA—REAGAN, THE REGENTS AND THE RIGHT** by William Trombley
- **HOW POOR NATIONS GIVE TO THE RICH** by Senator Walter F. Mondale
- **COLLISION COURSE ON THE LABOR FRONT** by A. H. Raskin
- **THE HISTORIAN'S OPPORTUNITY** by Barbara Tuchman
- **THE REAL NATURE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION** by Arthur Larson
- **A STRATEGY FOR ARMS CONTROL** by Jerome B. Weisner
- **PATRIOTISM AND VIETNAM** by Norman Cousins

In addition to articles of interest and distinction, you will also enjoy editorials that spark thinking and influence policy... regular columns that will make you laugh, think, and understand the world a little better.

### TWELVE MAGAZINES FOR THE PRICE OF ONE

The magazine that started as the *Saturday Review of Literature* is now the *Saturday Review* of literature... science... education... music... communications... world affairs... travel... business... art... theater... movies... and TV-radio.

See for yourself how much you have in common with today's most uncommon national weekly. Take advantage of this special offer—for new subscribers only—to get acquainted with *Saturday Review*.

---

## 36 issues only \$2.97

(A regular \$12.60 newsstand value; \$5.54 by subscription)

---

If you are not delighted with *Saturday Review* at any time, you may cancel your subscription and receive a *full refund*—not the usual refund on unmailed copies!

Use the accompanying postage-free order card to start *Saturday Review* coming your way regularly. Enjoy this colorful and exciting weekly from cover to coverage.

*Saturday Review*  
380 Madison Avenue New York, N. Y. 10017

# I WANT TO KNOW

(How Citizen Exchange Corps  
Helps Americans Find Out)

## IF RUSSIANS HAVE HORNS

Send me FREE reprints of N.Y. Times articles and editorials telling about CEC, a non-profit, tax-exempt foundation. Tell me how CEC brings together Americans and Russians of all ages and occupations to meet their counterparts in both the United States and the Soviet Union . . . and how I can participate in this program, a major step toward mutual understanding and survival.

**3 WEEK STUDY-EXCHANGES  
LEAVE N.Y.C.**

**July 14—Aug 5—Aug 26**

**OR MEET CEC IN MOSCOW**

NAME.....  
ADDRESS.....  
CITY.....  
STATE..... ZIP.....

Mail to:

**CITIZEN EXCHANGE CORPS,  
Dept. NR7-22, 550 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10036**

## Smoke BOOKS

By **JEROME AGEL**

*Editor-Publisher of a Monthly  
Mind-Expander*

We're tripping - and invite all you bookheads to come along. We call our connection **BOOKS THE MONTHLY NEWSPAPER**. Our readers call us other things. Like, "BOOKS the funniest thing I've ever read." "BOOKS the be-in." (Nice pun there.) "BOOKS my monthly brunch coat." We're telling it like it is - underground, overground, whowhatwhywherewhen. Long before anyone else, usually. Our theory: Books, authors, films, viable ideas - people - aren't as dull as others make them out to be. Typical contents: Dubuque's little old lady; Paul Krassner's parents; Our Son the Realist; Transcript of 10-year-old Lesley Downey being murdered on the Moors; Last known photograph of God; Rex Reed on Rex Reed; Cop Art; John Simon John Simon John Simon; James Jones' "Go to the Widow-Maker" revives probability that Columbus was Jewish. News, seminal ideas, layouts available nowhere else. Plus plus plus. Scoop scoop scoop. **BOOKS** is in its fourth year of monthly publication. If you want to be included, send us the coupon today. Or call your travel agent.

**ONLY BY SUBSCRIPTION—Not on Newsstands**

**BOOKS/Agel Publishing Co., Inc.**  
598 Madison Avenue, NYC 10022  
My check is enclosed for **BOOKS** the lively monthly periodical.

NAME.....  
(Please Print)  
ADDRESS.....

CITY..... STATE..... ZIP.....  
☐ One Year—\$2.92 ☐ Two Years—\$5.50  
12 monthly issues 24 monthly issues

*Acting it out: enormous relish  
starless, and the way goes down.  
no sound but your sound, not a  
glint, a glitter, nothing . . .  
and you still go down . . .  
still nothing . . .  
then the smell of water  
stale the way a wet stone smells . . .  
dead men throng that unseen shore—  
words without breath—bat  
voices . . .  
then the skiff comes silent on the  
silent  
oar: you crowd the dead: cross over:  
fumble for footing in the shelving  
ooze:  
grab at eel-grass: stumble: flounder:*

listen . . .  
no sound at all, not even  
frogs to hear by . . .  
So you whisper . . .  
nothing.  
Speak . . .  
still nothing.  
Shout! . . .

Given the occasional high spot like this, and the general poise and expertness of the verse, *Herakles* should be attractive to directors, players and audiences; perhaps, to readers on the page also. Certainly, on the coolest analysis, it has something to say and it succeeds in saying it.

## War Games

by Alex Campbell

Should Glassboro, N.J., ever require a heraldic device, an eagle and a bear facing yet tilted away from each other on top of a small globe might be appropriate. That historic June encounter strongly suggested that this country and Russia are at least agreed on the need to lean over backward in order to prevent local conflicts becoming world wars. Why this should be so is ad-

local conflicts from doing great damage to world peace."

Eight months later, President Johnson greatly dismayed at least some Germans by applying the lesson to the very heart of Europe, saying:

"The wound which now cuts east from west and brother from brother . . . must be healed with the consent of eastern European countries and consent of the Soviet Union."

*Pax Americana*  
by Ronald Steel  
(Viking; \$6.95)

*The Nation Is Burdened*  
by Roger D. Masters  
(Knopf; \$6.95)

mirably explained in these two books on American foreign policy, until they both get silly about China. Each is in part an elaboration of George Kennan's wise words to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 10, 1966, during its Vietnam hearings; words which Mr. Steel quotes:

" . . . There are a great many new nations, small nations . . . they are going to fight with each other, and it seems to me that our role here as a great power must be to try to isolate, to moderate these conflicts, to settle them as quickly and easily as we can . . . to try to keep these

The Big Two are to try to move in parallel but, in deference to other nations, there is not to be any thought of a Russo-American condominium over world affairs; Mr. Kosygin firmly set aside his half of the crown when a journalist proffered it to him after Glassboro, just as he had done when another journalist, James Reston, tempted him with it in Moscow in December 1965. But there may be a Russo-American concert, as there was once a Concert of Europe.

It remains to be seen if harmony can really be preserved and unparallel moves avoided. Will Kosygin tactfully discourage Arabs from dancing like dervishes on Israel's borders; will Johnson desist from smashing North Vietnam flat? Whatever the practical an-

# Now, and for the rest of your life, save 25% to 60% on any book you buy.

## A SAMPLE OF OUR SAVINGS:

| TITLE                                        | RETAIL         | OUR PRICE      |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| A Thousand Days                              | \$ 9.00        | \$ 5.85        |
| The Source                                   | 7.95           | 5.67           |
| Games People Play                            | 5.00           | 3.75           |
| Arrogance of Power                           | 4.95           | 3.47           |
| Mastering the Art of French Cooking          | 10.00          | 6.69           |
| The Plot                                     | 6.95           | 5.22           |
| ABZ of Love                                  | 10.00          | 6.95           |
| A Modern Priest Looks at His Outdated Church | 4.95           | 3.71           |
| The Billy Mitchell Affair                    | 7.95           | 5.96           |
| Sex and Society in Sweden                    | 5.95           | 4.47           |
| In Search of Light                           | 6.95           | 5.22           |
| Treblinka                                    | 5.95           | 4.47           |
| Daumier Drawings                             | 10.00          | 3.98           |
|                                              | <b>\$95.60</b> | <b>\$65.41</b> |

As a readers' buying service the American Cultural Society offers you books with absolutely no obligations, no minimum purchase. There are no monthly selections, no yearly quotas.

The American Cultural Society is like an overgrown bookstore servicing its customers by mail. Because we're so big, we buy books in large quantities. And because of our quantity buying, we give guaranteed dis-

counts of 25% to 60% on all sales.\*

You, not us, choose the books you want. Unlike book clubs, the American Cultural Society does not create best sellers. We don't guarantee publishers a specific number of sales. You buy whatever you want whenever you like. Any book available in the United States: fiction, non-fiction, fine arts, sports, classics, fairy tales... you name it.

A five dollar fee is all you pay for a lifelong membership in the American Cultural Society—and from then on you save money on every book you buy. There are never any extra charges except the standard postage and handling fee which averages just 25c per book. In addition to substantial savings on each purchase, you get our exclusive quarterly magazine, "Book Mark."

"Book Mark" is a listing of hundreds of the world's most outstanding books with a capsuled synopsis of each to help guide your selection. If the book you want is not listed, ask us. We'll get it for you at substantial savings. And every book you buy is the standard publishers' edition in size, quality, paper stock, bindings and covers.

Cheaper by the dozen. Apply for membership in

the American Cultural Society now, and at the same time you can purchase a gift membership for one or more of your friends at the reduced cost of \$3. The first member pays \$5; each additional gift membership costs only \$3. Ask all your friends to join and split the cost... It's cheaper by the dozen. Every member is entitled to the same lifelong privileges; 25% to 60% discount on purchases and immediate subscription to the American Cultural Society's exclusive quarterly publication, "Book Mark."

To become a member of the American Cultural Society, send \$5 in check or money order to:



**The American Cultural Society**  
1005 Boston Post Road  
Rye, New York 10580

127

Enclosed is my \$5. I want to save 25% to 60% on books. Please enroll me as a lifetime member of the American Cultural Society. I'll receive the latest "Book Mark" and can start saving immediately.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

MUST BE IN U.S. FUNDS © 1967

\*Texts, technical manuals and reference books offered at discounts of 10%-15%.

## The American Cultural Society: Not a book club, but a readers' buying service.

swers to those particular questions, it seems likely that the notion of parallelism is here to stay. The balance of interests has replaced the crudity of containment of communism.

Where this can lead is illustrated by our two authors' comments on Vietnam. Steel:

"If Ho Chi Minh is finally successful in unifying Vietnam under a communist government . . . a strong, unified Vietnam, even under communist control, would be a better barrier to Chinese expansion than a divided Vietnam prey to civil war and foreign intervention. The peoples of Vietnam have been engaged in resisting their powerful neighbor to the north for some 2000 years. They are not likely to stop now, even though both pay formal allegiance to Marxism."

Then Mr. Masters:

"These constraints on Chinese influence [Vietnamese nationalism and the tradition of opposition to the

Chinese] would be multiplied by the increased Soviet interest in counterbalancing Peking throughout Asia . . . a communist South Vietnam would be able to play the two major communist powers against each other to its own advantage. A stable Titoist regime in Saigon might well be a greater limit on Chinese aggressiveness than an impotent anti-communist government."

These remarks, however, also suggest that the cold war between America and Russia may be about to end only to be replaced by a Russo-American cold war with China. A balance-of-interests theory seems to slip into a balance-of-power or spheres-of-influence doctrine, though Mr. Steel at least is at pains to deny this. But consider what he himself advocates:

"Whatever government sits in Peking, the Russians are going to have to look to their defenses where China is concerned. And it is in our interest to keep them looking there. The more the Russians are worried about China, the less of a menace they will be . . ."

He grumbles that Washington has shown too little concern to exploit "the disarray within the communist camp."

And Mr. Masters proposes using India and Indonesia as trump cards against China, declaring that "subtle encouragement of nuclear-weapons development in India would be a potent means of convincing the Chinese to act with restraint," as would be American encouragement of "measures which could increase the tension between China and Indonesia."

Oh, Ronald! Oh, Roger! Such a rush of war games to the head is to be expected perhaps in the lower echelons of the CIA, but not from serious analysts of foreign policy. The whole point of the nuclear age is that it has killed stone dead the short sighted ploys of 18th- and 19th-century "diplomacy." Not only is the cold war passé, but Big Two parallelism must in turn extend to China and not prelude a new, Russo-American cold war with China. It is in part because they fear the latter that Europeans have some reservations about a Russo-American accord. They want to trade with China, not "contain" that quarter of the human race.

#### REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Reagan, Ex-Radical

Andrew Kopkind's

Report from California

•

Single copy - 20 cents

2-10 copies - 15 cents each

11-50 copies - 10 cents each

(write for quotations on  
larger bulk orders)

•

THE NEW REPUBLIC

1244-19th St. N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036

## Inventions and Their Uses

by Ralph Nader

In 1958 an inventor succeeded in having his new road divider installed on a New York bridge. Cars colliding into it angularly have been guided back on to the roadway without injury to occupants or damage to vehicle. About the same time, another inventor developed a method of chemical separa-

*Technology and Change*

by Donald A. Schon

(Delacorte; \$7.95)

tion by ion exchange which could turn water pollutants into separated elements of commercial value. A couple of years later, a company created a cheap effective means of putting a spoilage detector into packaged dinners or other "ready to eat" foods.

According to Donald Schon, these items are examples of invention with-

out innovation - "innovation" being the "process of bringing invention into use and diffusion." None of these products has found much use or diffusion.

Mr. Schon is a leading contributor to the rapidly growing study of technological change. His experience in industrial consulting (Arthur D. Little, Inc.) and in government (Bureau of Standards), coupled with a background in the humanities, is both evident and absent in this book. He debunks the "rational myth of invention" as an orderly, goal-oriented process whose sequences can be managed in time and strategy from beginning to end. Invention, he says, has been a non-rational process which "often works backward . . . moving not from a clearly defined goal to the discovery of technical means or from observation of a phenomenon to exploration

of a use for it." Serendipity is frequent. He notes the classic episodes of Fleming's discovery of penicillin and Good-year's discovery of the vulcanization of rubber and other lesser, more recent inventions.

This non-rational view of invention is weakest as applied to the technological spin-offs from basic discoveries. We know that the invention of technology through a policy commitment of men and resources is becoming increasingly programmable. The exponential growth of 20th-century technology, much of which has been based on 19th-century science, indicates that resource commitment can raise the probability of result, however non-rational the process of discovery may be. Thus, the head of a recent government advisory group on technological innovation, Robert A. Charpie of Union Carbide, stated: "With the proper environment, we can haul off and invent and design anything we want." Mr. Donald Frey, vice-president of Ford, has said substantially the same thing for the automobile industry. Both men were thinking of such invention within business organizations of substantial size.

Large corporate enterprise, however, has yet to outshine the lone inventor or the tiny firm. The Charpie report cited several studies showing that independent inventors and small companies "are responsible for a remarkable percentage of the important inventions and innovations of this century—a much larger percentage than their relative investment in these activities would suggest." It is well to remind ourselves of some of these inventions—air conditioner, power steering, xerography, cyclotron, shell molding, cotton picker, helicopter, FM circuits, automatic transmissions, zipper, shrink-proof knitted wear, kodachrome, polaroid camera, cellophane, continuous hot-strip rolling of steel, oxygen steelmaking process and of seven major inventions in the refining and cracking of petroleum.

One of the less publicized shames of big corporate enterprise is the disappointing level of inventive output—a phenomenon of growing fascination to social scientists. Public relations tends to camouflage such distressingly thin creativity. Even IBM and Dupont, paragons of the purposefully and continu-



## Raul lives on 14c a day

**RAUL FALCONI. SOUTH AMERICAN. AGE 5. One of five children. Father laborer. Earns \$25 per month, 14¢ per day per person. "Home" is a cane shack. Two rooms. No facilities. No running water. No sewage system. Unpaved streets permanently inundated. Breed disease. Diet inadequate. Need vitamins, more and better food. Child inoculated against all diseases at Foster Parents Plan clinic. Help to child means help to entire family, medical care included.**

Thousands of children as needy as Raul anxiously await "adoption" by you or your group. Choose a boy or girl from Greece, South Korea, Viet Nam, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Colombia, Ecuador or Peru. Your child and his family receive a monthly cash grant, as well as counselling, medical care, blankets, household equipment, clothing—and primary school education. You receive a case history and photograph. Each month you write and receive a letter (original and translation). Learn how your "adoption" benefits the entire family. Soon, through the regular letters and progress reports, you and your child develop a warm, loving relationship.

**CHECK YOUR CHARITY!** We eagerly offer our financial statement upon request because we are so proud of the handling of our funds.

PLAN is a non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, independent relief organization, approved by the United States Government, registered under No. VFA019 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the Agency for International Development and filed with the National Better Business Bureau in New York City.

### *Foster Parents Plan, Inc.*

**352 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010—Founded 1937**

#### **PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS AND FOSTER PARENTS**

Steve Allen  
Sen. Paul H. Douglas  
Helen Hayes  
Conrad N. Hilton  
Sen. Jacob K. Javits  
Sen. Robert F. Kennedy  
Art Linkletter  
Amb. & Mrs.  
Henry Cabot Lodge  
Garry Moore  
Sen. William Proxmire  
Dr. Howard A. Rusk  
Mr. & Mrs.  
Robert W. Sarnoff  
Gov. & Mrs.  
William W. Scranton  
Sen. John G. Tower

#### **FOSTER PARENTS PLAN, INC.**

**NR-7-67**

**352 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010**

In Canada: P. O. Box 65, Sta. B, Montreal, Que.

A. I wish to become a Foster Parent of a needy child for one year or more. If possible, sex \_\_\_\_\_, age \_\_\_\_\_, nationality \_\_\_\_\_.

I will pay \$15 a month for one year or more (\$180 per year).

Payment will be monthly ( ), quarterly ( ), semi-annually ( ), annually ( ).

I enclose herewith my first payment \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

B. I cannot "adopt" a child but I would like to help a child by contributing \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Contributions are income tax deductible

ally creative giant enterprise, are described by Schon with myth-shattering terseness: "Dupont, . . . owes its success more to its phenomenal ability to carry out market and engineering development of inventions derived from other sources than its own research output. IBM, the present giant of the computer field, was not the first to enter into the development of electronic computers; it waited, sticking with its older punch-card systems, until other firms had built and marketed computers and only then moved in, with great marketing and technical service resources and skills, to dominate the field."

What absorbs Schon for most of the book is this process of innovation within the corporate structure—the factors in success, failure, stagnation. By discussing cases in the chemical, electronic and aerospace industries, he develops the ways in which firms broke through to innovation. Mature industries become innovative by invasion from another industry (chemicals into textiles, aluminum and plastics into steel) or external "states of crises" such as hot and cold wars and the space race.

Another source of creative trauma is the "product champion" such as Goddard (rocket), Whittle (jet engines), Sarnoff (color television) and Hershey (K-Cel—Kimberly-Clark's successful nonwoven product). Schon mentions bootlegged research, undertaken in spite of the organization's wishes, and cites this marvelous admission by IBM's Arthur K. Watson:

"The disk memory unit, the heart of today's random access computer, is not the logical outcome of a decision made by IBM management. It was developed in one of our laboratories as a bootlegged project—over the stern warning from management that the project had to be dropped because of budget difficulties. A handful of men ignored the warning. They broke the rules. They risked their jobs to work on a project they believed."

Schon views such perturbations for innovation within the non-rational rubric of his analysis. But he holds out considerable hope for emerging non-hierarchical forms of corporate organizations—the so-called R & D based

firm with small satellite companies. The role of universities in generating new satellites should have been an integral part of his analysis.

In trying to sort out the non-technical obstacles to innovation, Schon is hampered by his reluctance to branch out from his industry focus and sketch some of the potential pressures and incentives which can be brought to bear upon industry from the outside. Users, consumers, and citizen groups, for example, can stimulate innovation by building up pressure for a public policy on air and water pollution. On the other hand, government regulatory inflexibilities or industry-indentured unions can be enduring obstacles to change.

Schon stresses the desirability of having government models of development (TVA, Manhattan Project, military construction methods) which can cut pathways for the private sector. He pleads for a more sensitive grasp

of the effects of existing government policies on innovation—such as tax, antitrust, data collection, patents, procurement, regulatory, monetary and fiscal policies. He views refined development of these tools as essential for technological progress.

But committed economic power, positively described in the literature as institutional rigidities, is a major obstacle to expeditious transformation of invention into innovation. Both within the corporate structure and without it (viz: the plight of the lone inventor), the walls are too high. Had Schon seen this more clearly, he would have been less vaguely conceptual in his final chapter and more emphatic on the triggering mechanisms of change. His work at the Bureau of Standards could have enriched this volume and made it more readable. What a story, for instance, he could have related about the obstacles to innovation in the fire prevention area.

## Departed Glories

by Honor Tracy

To meet Eça de Queiroz (1843-1900) after a wallow in some of our present-day authors is like issuing from a chilly dark tunnel into a warm sunny land. To the common virtues of the 19th-century novel, abundance, power, style, he adds peculiarly Portuguese gentleness and urbanity: the fun is delicious, the satire humane; and here,

### *The City and the Mountains*

by Eça de Queiroz

(Ohio University; \$4.50)

admirably translated by the late Roy Campbell, is a book whose every page is a feast.

Jacinto, the hero, is a gentleman, an acceptable novelty today, and the lord of huge estates that his family holds from ancient times. But, a bright young man with a bonnetful of bees, he takes no care of them or interest in rural life. Indeed, Nature, silent, unconscious, impassive, fills him with terror and disgust. Nothing has value but the City and the City to him, as to so many Latin provincials of the time,

means Paris. There he lives, an absentee landlord, enjoying every refinement of luxury, surrounded by every possible gadget, mixing with the cream of the cream and bored to death. A boyhood friend, Zé Fernandes, the owner of the neighboring lands, comes to visit after a separation of seven years and it is through his eyes, rustic but shrewd, that Jacinto's *train de vie* is shown.

He has a mistress, of course, Mme. Oriol, the peak of sophistication. A description of her Lenten hat tells all: "Over the velvet, in the shade of the curly feathers, in the priceless lace, fixed with a golden pin, and made of the finest jet, nestled a perfect little crown of thorns!" He also owns a share in Diana de Lorge, the *poule de luxe*, whose extravagance is such that she has to be syndicated. But what tickles Zé Fernandes most is that while Jacinto raves about Civilization, Organization, Progress, they are continually letting him down. While the pair are dressing for dinner with the Duc de Marizac a pipe bursts, boiling water

shoots out in a scalding jet, lights are hidden by steam, priceless carpets and pictures are ruined. "For the second time, this same disaster," Jacinto says bitterly. At a regal dinner, graced by a Grand Duke of Russia, the dumb-waiter conveying food from the kitchens to the banqueting-hall gets stuck, and with it, to the Grand Duke's fury, the highlight of the meal, a rare exquisite fish procured from Dalmatia. Even when smoothly functioning, the gadgets are oppressive—"from eight o'clock the telephone began ringing for him with impatience, almost with rage, as if for a lazy slave."

Zé Fernandes sees, too, how his friend has changed since their student days. "His nose had got sharper between two well-defined wrinkles, like those on the face of a tired comedian." The ebullient speeches on the City and the Good Life are things of the past. Everything, from a brilliant party to the once loved Bois de Boulogne, is horribly tedious. Mme. Oriol's hat provokes a little crisis: no sooner has she tripped away in it to hear Father Granon's Lenten diatribe than Jacinto exclaims, "Zé Fernandes, let us pass this Sunday in a truly simple and natural way . . . Let's go to the Jardin des Plantes, to see the giraffe."

Yet Providence is watching over him. His bailiff writes that after torrential rains a landslide has engulfed the valley where stands the church containing the bones of his ancestors. Jacinto instructs him to clear the rubble, recover the bones and rebuild the church, spending money like water if need be. When this has been done, he piously sets out to attend the ceremony of recommitment, taking with him for the

period of one month thirty-four packing-cases and twenty-three trunks. All these and Cricket, his bodyservant, are mislaid in Medina del Campo in Spain.

Back in the ancestral home among the sierras with their rocks and woods and streams, Jacinto is reborn. He who in Paris would toy with a morsel of chicken or lobster now shovels in beans and rice with peasant fervor; and he who condemned stupid stolid old Nature hymns her now with the fanaticism of a convert. To the despair of his bailiff, he has wild ideas for improving everything. He will set up, in the heart of the mountains, a grandiose cheese-factory which could only succeed in the plain, if at all. When he rebuilds the laborers' hovels, he is with difficulty dissuaded from putting an electric bell in every room. His knowledge of rural matters is nil—why, he admits, he is not even sure if that tree over there is cork or plum! Zé says it is oak.

Absurd but never grotesque, lovable in his absurdity, Jacinto dominates the story, yet the other characters are

solid and clear. Often the narrator in novels is a colorless figure, a mere device, but Zé is very much of a person. Old Cricket, "with his radiant Negro smile," is drawn with an innocence and a sweetness that are devoid of the least condescension. Silverio the bailiff is earthy and tough, a more intelligent, more resolute, Sancho Panza: his report to Jacinto on the ancestral bones, his grief at their being so disrespectfully shuffled up, his confidence that on Judgment Day "each one of the noblemen will be presented with the correct assortment of bones belonging to him" and his deeply pondered arrangements pending that happy event, make a page of the finest comedy. And funny, sad or descriptive, the rural scenes are pervaded with a tenderness as mellow as the evening light that Queiroz loved and so beautifully describes. This is the most delightful of his novels to appear in English so far (two more are in preparation) for its warmth, its grace and its depiction of the good and the happy, never an easy thing to do.

## ART

### *The Playful and the Inspired at Expo*

Something for and from everybody at Expo 67. The French have what in effect is a small museum of pictures from the Louvre and provincial institutions. To this, on a roof-garden that has a grand view, they have added a fantasia of somewhat abstract sex activity by Jean Tingley and Nicki de St. Phalle, in which her bloated and gaudy female forms are attacked by his black and crude machines. The British conclude their presentation in Montreal with a hall of giants, each stylized figure some 15 feet high. The Czechs have a stunning selection of Romanesque and Gothic carving and glass followed by gorgeous examples of contemporary glasswork. The American show—selected by Alan Solomon and concentrating on chi-chi just past its prime (Rauschenberg and Johns, Oldenburg and Dine, Lichtenstein and the new, one-color Kelly)—has taken

its knocks. But the criticism misses the point. Our pavilion is the loveliest and most effortless building on the islands. Buckminster Fuller's dome floats over Expo as if upon the St. Lawrence. It's light and easy outside and inside. In contrast to the Russians for instance, the Americans are presenting themselves as people who don't take themselves very seriously. Our displays feature not our substantial contributions to the development of the motion picture, but the stars, Hollywood and tinsel. Such trivia and esoterica as political campaign shirts, branding irons and a regiment of Raggedy Ann dolls in every size dominate the building. In this calculated frivolousness, nothing could be more appropriate than the art USIA has put there. It is decorative, something to fill up part of the vast space through which visitors shuttle along on moving

#### NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

John Wain's book *Death of the Hind Legs, and other stories*, was recently published by Viking Press. Honor Tracy is the author of a travel book called *Spanish Leaves*. She has also written *The Straight and Narrow Path* and her newest book, published this spring is *Men At Work*. Ralph Nader is author of *Unsafe at any Speed*.

stairways or on the mini-rail.

But Expo itself comes out far ahead of all its invited competition in art. Its contribution falls into two main parts, one rather mediocre but interesting, the other of unparalleled excellence.

The mediocre part is the public sculpture. The well-laid-out grounds are full of open places and intersections, just about every one of which is adorned by a heroic-sized piece of monumental statuary by some Canadian. Although the overwhelming majority of these works are abstract, most are intended to relate in some way to nearby theme buildings or to the names of the squares or circles. But alas, it is the same mistake the Columbian Exposition made in 1893 and in similar circumstances. It could lead to a development of thematic abstraction every bit as dull and uninspired as the representational thematic deluge that flowed out of the Columbian fair all over America. An added handicap is that there are not that many Canadian sculptors capable of monumentality.

The main event in art is "Man and His World," an absorbing exhibition that would have done honor to any of the world's great museums. The show is the first in a new museum, built specially for the purpose, which will remain in Montreal when Expo closes. "Man and His World" is heretical as an idea for an art exhibition. You can get away with "Rembrandt and His World" or "The World of Picasso," but the preference in that case is for a painter, a period or a school, preferably a new one. The common note is the assumption that no significant connection exists between art and the world. The show at Expo is an extreme example of what the established church in art condemns as heresy, for it is organized not according to school or centuries or even manners of painting, but by ten divisions drawn from the subject itself. Thus: Man, Man and Work, Man and Play, Man and Love and so on. Individual works of extremely high quality are from every conceivable period and culture and in every medium, although many more paintings than anything else. With ten divisions and an open mind about sources, it would be easy to fall into a pattern of chronology or

geography, but the Canadians, with the advice of an able international committee, have not done so. Visitors are greeted by surprise after enlightening surprise—from Africa and the South Pacific, from ancient Egypt and the Chinese dynasties, even from Europe and America.

One of the revelations in the show is Soviet painting of quality and interest. We almost never see Soviet painting in this country, an exception being the big exhibit now at Huntington Hartford's museum in New York. When we do, as in that show, we see it all by itself and we quickly get our sensibilities ground down to irritation. But at Montreal we look at a perfectly straightforward and basically hero-worshipping picture of Lenin by Isaac

Israilevitch Brodsky, hung next to Eakin's monumental picture of the Agnew Clinic. Different in so many ways, the two are alike in their patient concern with the way things are and in their common awareness of the quiet intensity of intellectual work.

In the same section are a pair of laundresses by Degas, Millet's famous Gleaners, a Chardin housemaid, a Benin bronze of a hunter and dead antelope, an early Van Gogh weaver and a spirited Léger assemblage of construction workers. The same variety is present in the other sections. The show thus aims at that rarest of exhibition goals, the creation of a prolonged and progressive meditation on man's life. It succeeds brilliantly.

FRANK GETLEIN

## A COMMUNICATION

### Two Vietnams or One?

Our statesmen have so thoroughly befuddled the nation about the elementary history of the Vietnamese War that even Reinhold Niebuhr writes that the Geneva Agreements "partitioned" Vietnam and provided for a "plebiscite" in 1956, presumably on the issue of unification (NR, June 24).

Underlying all "peace" declarations of the Administration is the thesis that the Geneva accords divided Vietnam into two independent states, and that non-communist South Vietnam is the victim of aggressive attack from North Vietnam, which wants to conquer it in violation of the Agreements. Here is how Secretary Rusk defined the Geneva settlement at the televised hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in February, 1966:

"After a brief negotiation [France] came to terms with the communist forces that had captured the nationalist movement. The result was a division of Indochina into four parts: a Kingdom of Cambodia, a Kingdom of Laos, and Vietnam divided at the 17th parallel between the communist forces in the north and a non-communist Vietnamese government in the south."

Rusk went on to say that we seek a

"restoration of the conditions contemplated by the accords of 1954."

But apart from the plain language of these accords, there is the direct testimony of then President Eisenhower, the "legislative history" of the Geneva Conference and the statements of the powers who actually negotiated them—France and the Vietminh—to prove beyond any ambiguity that the "principle of Vietnamese unity was not questioned" in them, and that "the idea of partition was officially rejected by both sides" at the Conference—to quote the respected French authority on the Indochinese War, Philippe Devillers (*China Quarterly*, Jan.-March, 1962).

In his memoir, *Mandate for Change*, Eisenhower wrote: "The settlement in Vietnam was recognized as a military—not a political or territorial—one. General elections in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were to be held in July, 1956 supervised by an international commission . . . French troops were to be withdrawn when the three governments of the Associated States requested it (emphasis added)." The three governments were Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The elections scheduled for Vietnam within two years

were precisely the same as those set for Laos and Cambodia—general balloting to choose a single national government.

At an early stage of the Geneva proceedings, a five-point agenda was adopted: cease-fire; allocation of zones for separating the hostile forces; measures to prevent reinforcements after the cease-fire; creation of a supervisory body; and the form of guarantee required to ensure implementation. The discussions concerning a demarcation line, finally set at the 17th parallel, took place under the point dealing with allocation of zones, which was on the agenda because of general recognition that the two armies were so thoroughly intermingled that no policed armistice was possible without separating them.

The concept of partition was projected during the Conference. In the latter stages, after one of Secretary of State Dulles' repeated threats to scuttle it by direct military intervention in the war, Prime Minister Churchill persuaded Eisenhower to allow the new French government of Mendès-France an opportunity to arrive at a settlement with the Vietminh. Part of the deal was an Anglo-American memorandum to be presented to the French containing settlement terms acceptable to the two powers. As regards Vietnam, these included partition; political provisions to guarantee "preservation" of the southern half to the western powers; and no restrictions on import of arms or foreign "advisors" for "internal security." Eisenhower describes the memorandum, in *Mandate for Change*, as an agreement by Churchill and himself that "approximately half the country must remain non-communist, south of the 18th parallel." Inasmuch as he also writes that all reports to him then

indicated about 80 percent support for Ho Chi Minh, this was plainly a demand for prohibiting self-determination in the south, and for enforcing the prohibition with foreign arms and "advisers."

A reading of the Agreements leaves the impression that they were framed with an eye toward explicit rejection of the Eisenhower-Churchill demands. Article 6 of the Final Declaration declares that the "provisional" demarcation line "should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary." The importation of arms and foreign advisers is expressly forbidden. Under the proviso for general elections within two years, everyone expected Ho Chi Minh to gain leadership of the entire nation.

As is known, we pledged at Geneva not to obstruct the settlement. Less well-known, as basis for this pledge we cited our obligations under Article 2 Section 4 of the UN Charter, which reads: "All members shall refrain . . . from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. . . ." Thus we expressly defined interference with Vietnam's territorial integrity as a violation of the UN Charter.

Within weeks, the Eisenhower Administration moved to establish the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, with *South Vietnam* as a client state. Thus SEATO, the "legal" prop for our intervention was itself conceived in illegitimacy. As Devillers comments, with SEATO's formation "it became clear that the Americans' desire to hold the 17th parallel at all costs would constitute a serious obstacle to the reunification of Vietnam." Emmett Hughes, in his memoir of the Eisenhower Administration, *Ordeal of Power*, tells how Dulles exclaimed to him "with satisfaction": "We have a clean base there now, without a taint of colonialism. Dienbienphu was a blessing in disguise."

SEATO was followed by Eisenhower's famed October 1 letter to Diem promising support in establishing a strong, viable, independent nation. Both the Kennedy and Johnson Administration have claimed that their commitment in Vietnam flowed from this letter. By mid-1955 Diem, guided by the US, had "forced the liberal and democratic poli-

ticians into exile" (Devillers), blocked execution of the Geneva accord's provisions for consultation on the scheduled elections, and declared South Vietnam to be an independent nation. Not only did we disrupt the territorial integrity of Vietnam, but we imposed upon the southern half a notoriously oppressive, corrupt regime. A people that had fought so tenaciously for freedom from France, south and north, could scarcely accept passively this imposition by another foreign power.

That resistance to such imposition is still the motive force of the National Liberation Front is attested to by daily stories of the failures of pacification, Premier Ky's frequent confessions that with peace he could not compete politically against the NLF, and reports that elections can be held only in about a third of the south. Following an extensive observation trip to Vietnam last fall, Israel's General Moshe Dayan, observed: "The Viet Cong have taken to guerrilla warfare as a people struggling against superior forces which are in control of their country. By means of this struggle they demonstrate their opposition to the rule that has been imposed upon them. . . . Guerrilla warfare can achieve its aim when it is used as an instrument of national struggle against a government imposed from the outside. . . ." (*Hadassah Magazine*, June, 1967).

President de Gaulle's meaning thus becomes clear when he proclaimed, in his June 21 statement on the Mideast crisis, that the "war was started in Vietnam through American intervention," and that it could end only with "termination of foreign intervention."

Max Gordon  
New York City

## Correspondence

### Gun-Peddling

Sirs:

In your issue of July 8th, under the title "Gun-Peddling," your reference to Chile contains two errors:

The 21 Hawker Hunter planes acquired by Chile are not supersonic but subsonic. Besides, this is the first purchase of planes by Chile in the last

### SUMMER SCHEDULE

*During the summer months, The New Republic will not appear on:*

July 29

August 12      August 26

*Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 2*

twelve years. In 1955 we bought five.

There is no contradiction between the words of the Minister of Foreign Relations of Chile, Mr. Gabriel Valdés, in "deploring as waste Latin America's annual spending" on arms, and the policy of the government of Chile. To prove that the position of Chile against the armaments race is not only words but a fact, it suffices to record that Chile assigns only 9 percent of her budget to National Defense, which is not only one of the lowest, but perhaps the lowest of all Latin America.

Radomiro Tomic  
Ambassador of Chile

---

### Little Magazines

---

Sirs:

David Dempsey's report in the July 8 *New Republic* on little magazines and the Coordinating Council of Literary Magazines contained misinformation as well as bad jokes. . . . The Council has received grants totaling \$100,000 from the National Endowment for the Arts, this money to be matched. The American Council of Learned Societies has granted us \$5,000 from the U.S. Steel Foundation, and the Old Dominion Foundation has granted us \$25,000.

Our first group of Awards was announced July 14, as follows: Direct grants to *Chelsea* (\$1,000 for a special issue), *Monocle* (\$2,000 for a special issue), *The Outsider* (\$1,000 toward a printing press), *Virginia Quarterly* (\$1,500 for an addressograph), *Wormwood Review* (\$415 for an electric typewriter), and the following magazines for general support: *Choice* (\$2,000), *December* (\$1,500), *Coyote*

(\$1,500), *Audit/Poetry* (\$1,500), *Burning Deck* (\$1,500). Also coordinate grants of \$3,000 each were made to *Kenyon Review*, *Poetry Magazine*, *Hudson Review*, *Tri-Quarterly*, and *The Southern Review* for general support. In the case of coordinate grants, the magazines accepted the responsibility for finding patrons willing to match the \$3,000.

A second group of awards will be announced in due course. We would be grateful if Mr. Dempsey would in the future withhold his complaints about our awards until we have made them.

Reed Whittemore, Secretary  
Coordinating Council of  
Literary Magazines

---

### Kauffmann, from page 24

---

But, although this state of affairs in communications is depressing, obviously some of us are overdepressed. At least there are some happy exceptions. If one judged solely by the *Buffalo* and *Olean* newspapers or by the magazines that jam the *Olean* newsstands, one would despair of a non-popular opinion ever penetrating the jungle of intertwined accepted opinions. Yet something did penetrate to Mr. Murray. Possibly it was with the help of a teacher, possibly it was by reading a dissenting journal or two. (I had to leave early the next morning and could not speak to him; I thought that a telephone call later—from a stranger—would be a poor idea.) Certainly, to judge by my host's comment and by what I saw and sensed in *Olean*, there could not have been much in this young man's environment to encourage him, and, as noted, the mass media could not have been very helpful. "The medium is the message," says What's-his-name. For Mr. Murray, the message was the message, and in the light of both his adolescent status and the ensealed quality of small-town life, his speech is a healthful rebuke to those who may be writing off too much too quickly.

There is a difference between Mr. Murray, dissenting in his little high school, and the older student, dissenting in a college or university. First, on the score of communication: the difference in available information and

opinion is enormous. Second, the university student has the support of at least some companions; which raises the other matter—courage.

To be a dissenter in a small town is rough, as anyone knows who has lived in one and as American literature since Hawthorne testifies. This is not to say that dissent in big cities is rose-paved. One of the bravest civil actions in years, I think, took place in New York—a protest, before the Arab-Israeli fighting broke out, by a group of Arab-Americans who marched down upper Broadway, a heavily Jewish neighborhood. (And, of course, some Jewish youths rushed into shops, bought eggs and fruit, and gallantly pelted the Arabs.) But the big city, like the big university, is sufficiently complex in texture to accommodate, one way or another, a wide spectrum of beliefs. Not so the small town. This spring I met a man in Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, who told me that, in the last election campaign, the windows of his house were broken and dead cats were thrown on his porch. His dissent consisted of being a Democrat in a Republican community.

But this was a grown man, a college teacher, with the resources and independence of maturity. Mr. Murray was a high school senior.

Writing about adolescence in *Coming of Age in America* Edgar Z. Friedenberg says:

"... There are technics for keeping body and soul together in an inhospitable wilderness; for more than survival, for living a rich and bounteous life. This kind of scouting is appropriate to and an integral part of adolescence. A boy who has never experienced it . . . may never become quite a man. But . . . the society that prefers the kind of man who has never examined the meaning of his life against the context in which he lives is bound to believe that it has a youth problem. For its own sake, and the sake of its social future, one can only pray that it really does have."

My debt of thanks to Mr. Murray, mentioned at the outset, is for the reassurance that we still have his kind of youth problem.

---

### PERSONALS

---

MEET YOUR IDEAL MATE (Computerized Matching). All Ages. Write: TEAM Project, P. O. Box 359, Church Street, New York, N. Y. 10008.

AUTOMOBILE BUMPER STRIPS. Low-cost advertising for Organizations, Special Events, School Projects, Business, Theatrical Productions, Tourist Attractions, Motels, Resorts, Drive-Ins, Political Campaigns, and Slogans. Write for free brochure, Price List, and Samples. Reflective Advertising, Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Missouri 63132.

BUTTONS! "Draft Beer, Not Students," 25¢; 5/\$1.00. Free list! Sub-Box 3365a, Midway, Washington 98031.

**CIGARETTE SMOKERS** - Enhance flavor, remove noxious elements by using principle of water filtration. Medical reports from Middle East show incidence of lung cancer in hookah (water pipe) users one-eighth that in regular cigarette smokers. Aquasol cigarette holder with month's supply aquiferous disposable filters, \$2. Prepaid. EMEND COMPANY, 110-47 71st Ave., Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375.

**"FOUR WILL FORMS"** and Lawyer's Guide to Wills. \$1.00 complete. National Forms, Box 48313-NR, Los Angeles, Calif. 90048.

**HARPSICORDS** Same as owned by Philadelphia Orchestra and RCA Victor. In kit form for home workshop assembly \$190. Clavichord kit \$100. Free brochure. Write: Zuckermann Harpsichords, Dept. P, 115 Christopher St., N.Y.C. 10014.

**INTERESTED IN CONSTRUCTIVE SELF EVALUATION?** Unconventional approach probes deeply, accurately. Introductory analysis \$1. Include birth data, name, address. Joan Merrill Harmon, Ps.D. RFD 3, Buzzards Bay, Mass. 02532.

**DISENCHANTED EGGHEADS (AGES 21 to 60)**! **MIND MATES** is a serious, specialized dating service catering exclusively to the New York area's vast literate, cultivated, intellectual community. Our purpose: to present you with your peers by means of a unique combination of computerized and personalized matching. Questionnaire, literature: **MIND MATES**, Bureau for Interpersonal Relations, 509 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10017. MU 2-3757.

**YOU ARE NOT ALONE** if you question theism. 60 million people believe that men together control their fate. For free information: American Humanist Association, NR-21, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

**COMPUTER DATING SERVICE** for single adults. Send for free brochure. COMPUTADATE, P.O. Box 20-N, Peabody, Mass. 01960.

## LITERATURE

**STUDENT REBELS!** Get a yearful of what **NEWS-DAY** calls "the only nationally circulated magazine entirely produced by high school students." Independent, uncensored. Discovered by NY POST: "It prints the kind of uncensored material you may hunger for." Junk the school newspaper. Read **THOUGHT**. One dollar to **THOUGHT**, 1398 W. Valley Stream Boulevard, Valley Stream, N. Y.

**POETRY WANTED** for cooperative Anthology. Include stamped envelope. Idlewild Publishers, 543 Frederick, San Francisco, California.

**THE HUMANIST MAGAZINE** is a journal of contemporary ethical concern. It emphasizes the practical implementations of humanism to the lives of the readers as they attempt to meet their responsibilities as individuals and members of the community. For information on the magazine and the American Humanist Association write: AHA, NR-50, Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

**SOCIALIST BOOKS** - Literature, catalog, free. New York Labor News, Dept. R, 116 Nassau Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201.

**BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS** - All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

**TOPICAL HUMOR SERVICE** and forty speaker's jokebooks. Catalog free. Samples \$5.00. Orben Publications, Dept. 105, Baldwin, N.Y.

**THE IDLER**. Lively, offbeat liberal monthly. Fun to read. Send \$2 for trial year's subscription. Idler, 413A - 6th St., N.E., Washington, D. C. 20002.

**BOOKPLATES**. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address **BOOKPLATES**, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

## EMPLOYMENT

**TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS:** The Abbott Teachers Agency has specialized for 50 years in educational placement: Private and Public Schools; Junior-Senior Colleges. Brochure on request. 120 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

## SCHOOLS AND CAMPS

**ADULT DEGREE PROGRAM** for men and women over 25 seeking liberal arts education. B.A. degree may be earned through series of six month study cycles combining two week seminars on campus twice yearly with independent study at home. Students may start in July, August, January or February. Write Box R, Adult Degree Program, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont.

## VACATIONS/TRAVEL

**NATURAL SEACOAST CAMPING** . . . On beautiful Casco Bay, 3 hours from Boston, off Route 95. Warm salt water swimming, hiking trails, bird watching and fishing in 250 acre farm near Wolfe's Neck Organic Beef Farm and Audubon Sanctuary 70 well-spaced campsites for tents/trailers. (No hookups.) Write: **RECOMPENCE SHORE CAMPSITES**, Burnett Road, Freeport, Maine 04032.

**SWISS RESORT**, AAA. Nature, Peace, Beauty Modern comfort. Sports, Swiss cuisine, excellent library. Snowvillage Lodge, Snowville, New Hampshire 03877. Tel. (603) 447-2818.

287 **EUROPEAN HOTELS**, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses, \$1.00. Voyager, Ltd., Bdx 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

**MIAMI BEACH:** Beautiful Apartments on the Atlantic Ocean. From \$3.00 per person. 9201 Collins.

**LAKE SHORE RESORT** - No hectic organized activities. Beautiful lake. Good food and companionship. Northwood, New Hampshire.

**WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE** - \$1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips 40-21JG, Bell, Bayside, N. Y. 11361.

## PROPERTY - Sale/Rent

**MOVING TO CLEVELAND?** A special way of living in the Lomond Community of Shaker Heights. . . . Nationally recognized schools. Twenty minutes to downtown by Rapid Transit. Near University Circle, Cleveland's cultural heart. A mature, integrated community. Fine homes from \$20,000 to \$35,000. . . . **THE LOMOND ASSOCIATION**, 16800 Chagrin Boulevard, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120 (216) 295-1373.

## ARTS AND CRAFTS

**DEMOCRAT? REPUBLICAN? HARVARD? Yale? Bryn Mawr? Radcliffe? Eloise? Jacqueline?** Either party, any university's name, or anyone's first-name in gold-like script on handsome brooch-pin or tie-bar. \$2.00 each. Box 810, New Republic.

**EXCITING ORIGINAL GRAPHICS**, contemporary foreign artists; woodcuts, etchings, lithos; by subscription \$3.50-\$7 each. Brochure: **Graphic Circle (NR)**, 68 Fifth Ave., NYC 10011.

**PSYCHEDELIC POSTERS:** #1 "Further," #2 "Banana Power!", #3 "Morning Glory"; \$2.00 each or all three for \$5.00; 5c stamp for brochure. Johnson, Box 13, Mt. Sinai, New York 11766.

**IT MAY STILL BE SUMMER-BUT KNITTING TAKES TIME** - Handsome, hand-knit, hand-spun, 100% bulky wool sweaters. Moderately priced. (C.D. Project) Free Brochure. **ANDEAN**, Box 2948, Quito, Ecuador.

**ORIGINAL LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS:** Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately priced. Send 50c for color-illustrated catalogue. George Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst 73, New York.

## MUSIC

**SABATHIL HARPSICORDS** unite authentic sound and modern reliability. Vancouver, Canada.

**HARPSICORDS, CLAVICHORDS** by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

Printed by National Publishing Division  7  
The McCall Printing Co.

# FREE! Giant Antique MAP OF AMERICA 100 Years Ago in Full Color



© America 100 Years Ago

**ON QUALITY  
PARCHMENT  
(Large 17" x 21")**

Retail Value

**\$15**

**(Yours FREE)**

Now — decorate your home or office with these breathtakingly beautiful masterpieces. You'll appreciate their true beauty and appeal once you see the exquisite craftsmanship employed by Robert Scott, famous American artist of this colorful era.

**Fabulously Beautiful Masterpiece—YOURS FREE!**  
**When you purchase these 4 Large Art Prints**  
**4 for only 50¢ each**



Exquisite American Heritage Ink Drawings from Colorful Civil War Era. Each 9" x 25", on heavy art paper ready to frame and hang. Unusual "TALL" shape so good for home or office! Limited edition will not be sold through stores.

**Order Now to Get Your  
FREE MAP**

Never before has the World Art Group made such an amazing offer. We will send all 4 Union and Confederate Soldiers (plus your FREE MAP on parchment.) All for only \$1.98 plus postage.

**Offer Will Not Be Repeated**

To take advantage of this special FREE offer we urge you to mail coupon now while supply lasts. This is your only chance to order. Offer will not be repeated.

**WORLD ART GROUP Studio**

54 Church Lane, Westport, Conn. 06880

Please rush me the 4 American Heritage Soldiers on heavy art paper for 50¢ each. Total \$1.98 plus 25¢ pp & hdlg. Also include my Giant Full Color Map absolutely FREE. Full money back guarantee if not delighted.

I enclose \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

☐ **SAVE:** Order 2 sets of 4 "first edition" American Heritage Art prints for only \$3. (save \$1.50) You receive 2 giant Early American Maps absolutely FREE. Extra sets make perfect gifts.

© WORLD ART GROUP 1967 7-22NR